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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The League's Business

League's First Postwar Conference to Be Held in Philadelphia

The first National Conference on Government since 1941 will be held November 11, 12 and 13 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia.

The National Municipal League's "short course" in public affairs and civic competence, which was held annually since 1894 until it was interrupted by World War II, will go to the city where the organization was launched 52 years ago, for the observance of the golden anniversary, two years delayed.

The first National Conference for Good Government, as it was termed for some years, was called in Philadelphia in January 1894 by civic leaders and organizations of many cities, to develop ways of combatting corrupt political machines. A committee appointed at that conference to develop means of "promoting the comparison of views, the exchange of experiences, the discussion of methods, and that mutual confidence and sympathy which adds so much to the strength and enthusiasm of fellow-workers in a great cause," formally established the National Municipal League the following May.

Prior to the entry of the United States into the recent war, the conference had been held annually in many cities to bring together civic leaders, educators, authorities on public affairs, governmental researchers and public-spirited citizens to discuss current problems and to develop methods to improve the conduct of public affairs and to increase the effectiveness of citizens.

Members are invited to submit suggestions for program subjects and are urged to make their hotel reservations early.

Research Pioneer Dies

Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, a pioneer in governmental research, died January 27 at Norwood, Massachusetts, where he had made his home for some years, at the age of 80. One of the directors of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research from 1907 to 1917, Dr. Cleveland, with his associates, set standards and patterns for testing and evaluating governmental processes which had a profound influence on citizen research bureaus. This influence was enhanced by the nation-wide publicity produced by the bitter campaign waged against this first bureau by the Tammany organization. Dr. Cleveland served on many local, state and national committees and commissions to inquire into the conduct of government and administrative methods, occupied the chair of United States Citizenship of the Maxwell Foundation in Boston University from 1919 to 1929, served the Chinese government as a consultant from 1929 to 1935, and was the author of many authoritative works. He was actively identified with the League and contributed much to its program.

Chicago Loses Silas Strawn

Silas H. Strawn, prominent lawyer and civic leader of Chicago, died February 4 at Palm Beach, Florida, at the age of 79. Mr. Strawn had been identified with the League for years and had served as a member of the Council.

Winant Resigns Post

John G. Winant, president of the League, has resigned as Ambassador to Great Britain to become United States representative to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

Bebout to Join Staff

John E. Bebout, who resigned recently as director of the Citizens League of Cleveland and the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, will join the staff of the National Municipal League as assistant secretary. Mr. Bebout, formerly director of the New Jersey Constitution Foundation, had previously taught in the political science departments of Rutgers University and the University of Newark.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

More Money But Economy Too

IN Boston Mayor Curley wants to borrow \$10,000,000 to pay current expenses and keep the tax rate down. In New York Mayor O'Dwyer asks the state legislature for approval of his plan to raise \$75,000,000 in new taxes. In Toledo the new local payroll tax is expected to raise about \$4,000,000 annually.

And so it goes. These cities need more money. So do the many others which are seeking new sources of revenue.

But it would be encouraging to the taxpayer if his city would show the same resourcefulness and determination in cutting expenses and eliminating waste as it does in seeking new and more tax money.

The *Boston Herald* discloses no secret when it calls that city's government "a wasteful and inefficient organization permeated with politics." The paper, supporting a proposal for an impartial examination of the city government, demands a prior pledge from the Mayor that he will follow the recommendations of the investigators who would be hired.

New York's ancient notoriety as a place where "honest graft" in political operations reached unmatched heights has been eclipsed during the last decade by a general impression of honest, efficient government, yet taxpayer and research groups always find it possible to suggest the elimination of millions of expense and annually they claim that too little opportunity is given for public dis-

cussion before the budget is approved.

New York, Boston and many other cities could eliminate much unnecessary waste of public funds if they really wanted to do so, and it is becoming increasingly necessary that they should. Some of the best run cities have been examined critically by outside experts over and over again to the great benefit not only of taxpayers but of officials who are, as one result, protected from improper influences and helped to do their jobs properly.

There is nothing mysterious about the process. Anyone, whether he is a public official, an industrialist, a professional man or a business man, is likely to get into bad habits or fail to keep abreast of improved methods unless he takes positive periodic steps to refresh himself. Administrative, financial and economic surveys provide this needed check-up of the public's business.

Some places are fortunate to have local bureaus of governmental research, civic organizations with research facilities, officials who are alert and progressive, influential citizens who help mightily at intervals; but, significantly, these are the very communities which have the greatest tendency to call in outside consultants most frequently. The need for complete objectivity and the avoidance of personal considerations are in a way similar to the factors which prevent a famous surgeon from operating on a close relative.

The Demand for State Funds

PRESSURE on the states to dis-tribute a larger share of their tax revenue to the cities is increasing and will continue to increase unless the cities are generally able to find new sources of revenue in large amounts, such as, for a ready example, the Philadelphia payroll tax and the similar tax recently adopted in Toledo.

Most of the states are receiving more tax money than they need for current expenses, but the cities, meanwhile, from which a major portion of this bountiful revenue comes, are having a difficult struggle to pay the greatly increased costs they will face for at least the next several years.

States are "rich" just now simply because their revenues come in large part from sources which are sensitive to business prosperity and inflationary trends. Cities are hard up because increased taxes on real estate, their major source, are not in order.

But the same expansionist or inflationary trends which are swelling state revenues are having a reverse effect on the cities, which cannot

very well escape increased costs of labor and materials while they are rehabilitating the public plant which was neglected during the depression and the war and filling positions which were allowed to remain vacant for the duration.

Other large expenses will come when it is realized that we cannot continue to ignore the steady decay of the central cities as the outward flow of populations is resumed and accelerated.

Cities will be more and more demanding, and the states will find it increasingly difficult to resist the pressure for a more generous redistribution of state-collected taxes. It behooves both states and cities to study this problem thoroughly. There seems little sense or justice in countenancing a situation which leaves local governments impoverished and state governments complacently fat.

There may be serious long-time dangers in greater state aid. If so, there is a strong obligation to find other answers and find them quickly.

There may well be further experimentation with placing certain services of the city on a special service charge basis. This movement is already under way and wherever benefits are specific and not general the benefit principle might well be applied. Further use of sewer rental charges, garbage and refuse collection service charges, parking meters, fire protection service charges and even some special assessments for current operating purposes will undoubtedly come. . . . Finally, the whole scope of state-collected, locally-shared taxes should be examined. CARL H. CHATTERS, executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, in "Analyzing the Local Revenue Problem," *Public Management*, March 1946.

Public Employees and Unions

Committee of National Civil Service League issues guide for relations between the public service and its workers.

By HERMAN FELDMAN*

IN A field in which labor relations have suddenly become one of the most contentious in America—that of the relations of government to organizations of public employees—the National Civil Service League has passed a sort of minor miracle: it has produced a report which has obtained unanimous agreement from a committee of labor and management¹ and yet is one which imposes some definite obligations and restrictions on each. To this group, which included some independent students, it has added the approval of an advisory committee of some 25 outstanding citizens, presenting the nation in these troublous times with an authoritative guide to labor policy which has already had its effect in municipal affairs and which will be increasingly influential in governmental labor relations.

This report² is the result of over

*Dr. Feldman is professor of industrial relations at the Amos Tuck School for Business Administration of Dartmouth College and secretary of the National Civil Service League's Committee on Public Employer-Employee Relations for which he prepared the report discussed in this article. He has taught industrial relations at St. John's College in Brooklyn and Columbia University and was dean of the School of Business and Civic Administration at the College of the City of New York. Dr. Feldman has been given numerous appointments on federal commissions and boards and is author of books and other publications on problems of labor and industry.

¹Names of committee members are listed at end of article.

²*Employee Organizations in the Public*

a year's patient exchange of views and wordings among members of the committee—a group of reasonable men thoroughly imbued with their social responsibility—in an effort to arrive at a meeting of minds in which the legitimate interests of employees, administrators and the public would all be conserved. The statement was launched by the committee's chairman, Winston Paul, on February 20, at the annual meeting of the league and it came at once into active use. The league and its secretary, H. Eliot Kaplan, may well be proud of its activity.

Among calls for the report next day was one by long distance from Houston, Texas, and it is believed that, sent air mail, it had some part in the ultimate kissing finale of the Mayor and the union officials. The report is also said to have had its influence in Mayor O'Dwyer's firm stand with Councilman Quill in New York. Papers like the *New York World-Telegram* and the *Boston Herald* gave it their leading editorials. In all, the report has got off to a good start.

The two special purposes of the report are education and guidance. In the first place, there are many conflicts in the public service which are due to ignorance, or stupidity, combined with shock, on the part of the administrator. In the second place there are confusing questions

Service, National Civil Service League, New York, 1946, 32 pages.

of policy in which employee organizations, administrators and legislators need and wish a knowledge of the views of impartial and informed citizens. The report states:

As organization progresses over the country, government bodies, members of civil service boards, members of state and local legislative bodies, and men in public life generally will be faced with demands which may be new to them but which are issues long debated or already settled in the practice of private industry. The legislator or official who is inadequately prepared for such situations may, through ignorance, take an indefensibly hostile stand or, through fear, make an unwise concession of principle, or he may react legalistically or negatively when the occasion calls for a positive, imaginative program. . . . It is therefore timely for a representative group of citizens to consider the policies appropriate to those in authority and to employee associations with which such authorities may have to deal.

Aims of Labor

The report, sympathetic throughout with labor's aims, begins with a section on "Why Public Employees Organize," which disposes of the notion that the terms of employment in public service are exemplary and which pictures the exasperations that neglect of employee interests often involves. Without mincing words the report asserts:

But whatever their reasons, tangible or sentimental, practical or idealistic, worthy or unworthy, public employees are reacting to normal motives in associating themselves for common action. Whatever the personal views a legislator or official may have concerning such activity, his public policy must be based on principles which meet present-day tests of validity. A few of the major

questions which may confront him are therefore considered, in an appropriate sequence.

From this point the report considers eleven major questions. In the present article only a few of the more significant ones will be mentioned.

Question II considers outside affiliations of employees' organizations. Recognizing the fact that "many administrators feel that associations whose membership is predominantly outside the government service do not have the background and understanding of public service problems required for satisfactory negotiations and arrangements," the statement nevertheless calls attention to the fact that the objections, to be valid, must be more tangible, such as the likelihood of partiality in work done by its members. Its final word on the point is:

Public bodies are justified in the prohibition of outside affiliation by any group in government service solely when the danger of partisanship or impaired public confidence is real. A general, indiscriminate attempt to dominate the form of organization desired by employees is out of step with the times.

It is hoped that this alone will save the country some unnecessary friction in the next decade.

Question IV deals with the matter of exclusive recognition. Here a short discussion warns the administrator of encouraging a competitive race between different groups, and outlines the need for discussing plans of a general nature with the organization representing the majority. It points out that "the head of a public agency must at all times be free to

accept petitions or requests for conferences from any source, but he should reserve any 'agreements' for conferences with the group representing the majority."

Question V, on the issue of formal labor contracts, states:

Some organizers of unions minimize the need for a technical contract as interfering with the attainment of goals wholly obtainable through informal procedure. Other groups, particularly their lawyers, make much of the fact that from 30 to 50 agreements are on file with municipalities or local departments which read like contracts. That they are, in fact, contracts, is not accurate, for certain modifications change the character of most of these agreements.

Citing Philadelphia, for example, the report asserts that the superior authority of appropriating agencies to set or change terms unilaterally is here recognized, and the "contract" may be considered as in effect advisory and non-binding. The report emphasizes that:

An unequivocal grant of power to the administrative agency over the matter covered in an agreement is necessary if the government to which it is subordinate is to be bound by the agreement. . . . Normally a "contract" with an employee association in the public service represents an advisory group judgment which an administrator is willing to accept, not a technical instrument regarded as binding the government in future to a contract resulting from group pressure.

Question VI is on the vexed issue of the closed shop. Here the committee's view is:

To require any applicant for a job first to become a member of an em-

ployee association is so opposed to public policy that the proposal hardly requires further discussion. . . . To make membership in a given association an indispensable requisite for employment would impose on a government unit the obligation to see that no arbitrary factors of internal policy of such association, such as restrictions concerning race, religion, politics or factional adherence, become an obstacle to employment. The government unit, if it insisted on employee membership in any form, would thus be involved in various responsibilities and difficulties, administrative, moral and legal. . . . No pressure by a government unit can justifiably be put on an employee to join a particular association in order to get or retain his job and only capacity to do that job, or some other broad criterion, is appropriate to a democracy.

Strikes of Public Employees

Question VII tackles the problem of strikes in the public service and starts with the importance of continuity of operation:

The executive function of government, that of seeing that legislation is enforced, is in certain particulars vital to society itself. Without the protection of the police, law would be only on paper; without the intervention of health inspectors, epidemics would rage; without the enforcement of fire regulations conflagrations might consume our cities and our forests.

The report does not, however, take a merely negative attitude on this issue. It repeatedly urges that:

Government agencies should show a sympathetic attitude toward employee problems, from officials at the top to the line supervisors; should provide adequate supplementary machinery for knowing employee grievances and should pursue a positive policy for meeting the basic needs of

employees. But employee associations must recognize that this emphasis on prevention is not in lieu of their own renunciation of the use of the strike.

But it takes the stand that:

Denial of certain rights to people in special or professional responsibilities does not mean autocracy, nor does freedom to strike assure democracy. Some of the strongest and most effective of the present organizations of government employees have prospered without asking or condoning the power to strike. Continuity of public service, a basic requirement of the public good, must be a paramount consideration of all its citizens, including those employed by the government.

Its final word on this subject is to reaffirm a previous conclusion of a report by a committee of the league:

It is the duty of the state to avoid unfavorable conditions of public employment and provide adequate machinery for the prevention and removal of employment problems at their source. But when the state fails in that duty it still remains the obligation of public employees to limit the presentation of their case to peaceable methods.

By leaving no place whatever for strikes the report clearly implies, though it does not go out of its way to recommend, use of the legislative or administrative powers of government to ban such violations.

Question IX, concerned with obtaining employee cooperation in the improvement of government operations, reviews the Whitley Councils in the civil service of Great Britain and Canada and recommends similar efforts to induce maximum interest by employee groups. But it also deals with failures of employee

groups to keep the efficiency of the public service paramount. For example, it points out:

Some employee organizations, in private as well as in public employment, have interpreted the principle of seniority in so narrow a way as to lead in essence to promotion by rote and to an unwise sharing of authority with workers of a responsibility belonging clearly to management. . . . Some associations may fail to define their legitimate goals or may take actions in behalf of employees which are harassing to good administrators. Thus, a narrowly defensive attitude on questions of disciplinary actions and dismissals may turn such performances of duty by administrators into inquisitions visited upon the officials involved.

Administrative Responsibility

The report declares:

Public administrators, with the aid of well developed techniques, must maintain vigorously and consistently their obligations to exercise the judgment expected of good management and good leadership in this and other matters of assignment of work, reward and discipline. Employee associations, in turn, should recognize the vast importance to sound government administration of the exercise by public officers of such managerial initiative and responsibility.

Question X, on arbitration, makes this point: "Binding arbitrations on questions of legislative character cannot be used, for they have their place only within those areas of policy and practice which are clearly within administrative discretion."

Question XI deals broadly with the political activities of employee associations. It warns administrators and unions:

The constructive solution here is not in the drafting of laws on the subject but the acceptance by employee organizations of standards of activity and codes of ethics which make such laws unnecessary. The nature of the political activity of employee associations may be judged by the criterion as to whether it protects the integrity and quality of public administration or serves merely the purpose of individuals or groups against the ultimate interests of such administration. Another criterion is whether an association of employees is pursuing political aims which are beyond the immediate job interests of its members or employees, or is confining its efforts to questions affecting conditions of the civil service.

Objectives

The last paragraph of the report focuses the discussion on common objectives:

The development of appropriate and effective procedures requires from all the parties concerned an open-minded, experimental and forward-looking attitude.

The administrator, on his part, must recognize his paramount obligation of democratic leadership of his unit and at the same time his responsibility to the public at large. Associations of employees must likewise integrate their desires for better conditions for their members with the interests of public administration

as a whole. Citizens generally, as well as the representatives who exercise legislative and other authority in their behalf, must do their part in providing the conditions which preserve these interests and obligations and promote the development of the government service toward a model democratic institution.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The committee drafting the report consisted of: Winston Paul, *Chairman*, president of Rockcliffe Realty Corporation, New York City; Herman Feldman, *Secretary*, professor of industrial relations, Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, Dartmouth College; W. Richardson Blair, associate, law firm of Ballard, Spahr, Andrews and Ingersoll, Philadelphia; Phillips Bradley, professor of political science, Cornell University; William S. Carpenter, president, New Jersey Civil Service Commission; Charles E. Dunbar, Jr., chairman, Louisiana Civil Service Commission; R. H. Knowlton, executive vice president, Connecticut Light and Power Company; Sterling D. Spero, associate professor of public administration, Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University; Luther C. Steward, president, National Federation of Federal Employees; Lent D. Upson, dean, School of Public Affairs and Social Work, Wayne University; J. Raymond Walsh, formerly economist, Congress of Industrial Organizations, now chairman, New York Citizens' Political Action Committee; Arnold S. Zander, president, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL); H. Eliot Kaplan, executive secretary, National Civil Service League, *ex officio*.

The Confused County Picture

Study finds great diversity in type, size, term, duties of county bodies among states but rigid uniformity in each.

By EDWARD W. WEIDNER*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first of three articles on county government by Mr. Weidner. The statistical material presented here was gathered by the author as consultant to the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, in the summer of 1945, and is a summary of the more extensive information contained in a report, *County Boards and Commissions*, prepared by him for the division. Interpretations are those of the author.

ALTHOUGH county governing bodies are acquiring more and more functions of a policy-determining nature, they still are organized primarily as administrative and judicial instrumentalities of the states. This fact has important implications for the future of local government. Unless counties can organize properly to carry out modern local government functions, they are likely to find their duties gradually trans-

ferred to *ad hoc* or state agencies.

Textbook writers and journalists have usually referred to county governing bodies as county boards. In the first place, this is understandable inasmuch as over two-thirds of those bodies are officially styled boards of commissioners or supervisors or boards of commissioners of roads and revenue, as indicated in Table I. Yet an important number of counties, especially those in the south, have governing bodies with other titles such as county court, commissioners court, fiscal court or police jury. There are some 27 different titles in use among the 3,050 counties.

Secondly, the term county board has seemed preferable since counties traditionally have not performed functions requiring much policy determination. When creating these county agencies, state legislatures were creating, as the titles "board" and "court" suggest, primarily administrative and judicial bodies.

Recently, the policy-determining type of function has been added increasingly to the duties of counties.¹ As a result, it is desirable and necessary to develop and examine the concept of a county governing body as distinct from a purely administrative and judicial agency.

It is difficult to designate a group

TABLE I TITLES OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES	
	<i>Number of Counties</i>
Board of Commissioners	1,271
Board of Supervisors	673
County Court	369
Commissioners' Court	254
Fiscal Court	120
Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenue	118
Police Jury	63
Other	182
Total	3,050

*Mr. Weidner is instructor in political science at the University of Minnesota. Formerly research associate for the National Municipal League, Mr. Weidner spent several months in 1945 as consultant on county government to the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census.

¹A glance at Clyde F. Snider's articles of recent years in the December issues of the *American Political Science Review* bears out the point.

of functions as those characteristic of county governing bodies because of the many variations from state to state and county to county. Over 90 per cent of the county bodies, however, levy taxes, appropriate money and issue bonds. They usually exercise the corporate or quasi-corporate powers of the county, award contracts, manage county property, pass upon claims and bills and exercise general control, however limited, over county affairs. In contrast are city councils to which are usually delegated by the state rather complete ordinance-making and fiscal powers.

The fiscal functions usually performed by county governing bodies are segregated from them in 9 per cent of the counties. In four New England states—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire—and in South Carolina the state legislatures or county legislative delegations perform most or all of the county's fiscal functions of levying taxes, making appropriations and authorizing bonds. In four southern states—Arkansas, Florida, Georgia and Tennessee—and in Indiana and Michigan special collateral fiscal agencies have been established in one or more counties.

The same tendencies are evident in the non-fiscal affairs of counties. State control, whether administrative or legislative, is extensive; an illustration is the well known fact that legislation affecting a particular county seldom passes unless that county's legislative delegation approves. Likewise, a county governing body frequently does not have control over policies affecting the

county which are made on a local level. Special boards and commissions and separately elected officers are frequently outside the range of its effective control. The process of separation is made complete in many cases by the creation of independent units of government to perform special functions in the county. A county governing body with large powers of home rule and of supervision over all county activities is difficult to find.

Accountability

Almost all county governing body members have a dual or a treble political responsibility. This is a fact which is of utmost importance for county policy and administration. Best practice in cities has resulted from the council-manager plan under which council members do not administer the program they formulate, but hire an expert manager for the task. Council members are responsible chiefly for over-all policy. In marked contrast members of county governing bodies usually exercise nominal control over a few matters of policy and some control over a variety of administrative detail, but little effective control over either.²

A third of the county governing bodies in the United States have members who are accountable not only as county administrative and legislative officers but also as judicial or township, town or city officers. As classified in Table II, three types of governing bodies are com-

²An account of the eleven counties most closely approaching the manager plan can be found in *The County Manager Plan*, National Municipal League, 1945.

posed of members all of whom also perform some judicial function, i.e., the judge and justices of the peace, single judge, and plural-membered court types. In another 350 counties only one of the governing body members serves also as a judicial officer—usually the county probate judge. These are the “judge and commissioners” counties.

TABLE II
TYPES OF COUNTY GOVERNING BODIES

	<i>Number of Counties</i>
Board of Commissioners or Supervisors	2,012
Judge and Commissioners	350
Board Composed of Town Supervisors	297
Judge and Justices of the Peace	193
Single Judge	86
Plural-Membered Court	75
Single Non-Judicial Officer	32
Other	5
Total	3,050

The impossibility of guessing the nature of county governing body membership from official titles is well exemplified in the nearly 300 cases where members serve also as township, town or city officials, designated as the “board composed of town supervisors” type in Table II. There are over 670 governing bodies called board of supervisors, but members of over half serve only as county administrative and legislative officials. Hence they may be grouped with those bodies which frequently, but not always, are called boards of commissioners. This latter group comprises two-thirds of the counties in the United States.

Regional variations in types of governing bodies are significant, yet 41 states distributed in all regions have at least one county with a

governing body of a board of commissioners or supervisors type. Excepting Vermont and Oregon, all judicial-type governing bodies are in southern states as are also all instances of the single non-judicial officer type. With few exceptions, three North Central states—Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin—and New York contain all the counties with boards composed of town supervisors.

Until multiplicity of accountability is lessened or eliminated, county policy and administration will suffer. It has often been said that merely because a man is popular with the electorate he is not necessarily a good administrator. How much more true is it that because a man is a good judge he does not necessarily make the best county governing body member, or that because a man has a live appreciation of the best interests of the township he does not necessarily have such an appreciation of the best interests of the county.

Number of Members

The fact that in the past counties have traditionally been considered largely administrative and judicial, and not legislative, units, which perform chiefly functions of general state, not local, interest, is unmistakably reflected in the small size and statewide uniformity of county governing bodies.

Half the counties have governing bodies of three members or less, 30 per cent have four or five members, and 20 per cent a larger number, as indicated in Table III. The modal number of governing body members of counties is three; that of cities,

TABLE III
NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF COUNTY
GOVERNING BODIES

<i>Number of Members</i>	<i>Number of Counties</i>
1	118
2	19
3	1,363
4	62
5	872
6	51
7	75
8-10	101
11-30	261
31-50	107
Over 50	21
Total	3,050

even for cities of five to ten thousand population, five. Yet there is a more extreme range of size in counties, varying from one to 82,⁸ while city councils vary from two to 50.

New England and western states have the smallest governing bodies of any region, while the southern and some midwestern states—Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin—have the largest. New York, with large county boards of supervisors, is the principal exception to this pattern. On the basis of population, however, Nevada, South Dakota, Tennessee and Wisconsin have the largest county governing bodies and Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania the smallest.

The National Municipal League's *Principles of a Model County Government* specifies governing bodies of five to nine members. The bodies

⁸Dane County, Wisconsin, has a governing body of 82. Three other counties have boards of more than 82—two in Arkansas and Wayne County, Michigan, with a board of 161. In the census study (op. cit.), however, these three boards have been classified as essentially collateral fiscal agencies. For a more complete explanation, see that report.

of over half the counties in the United States are smaller than the suggested minimum and some 390 are in excess of the suggested maximum. According to this standard many county governing bodies are either too large for adequate deliberation or too small for adequate representation of the various groups within the county. The administrative nature of county responsibilities in the past largely explains the latter phenomenon. An administrative board, it has been felt, should be small. The former has arisen because of the treble accountability of county governing body members in many states—either as county administrative and legislative and town officers, or as county administrative, legislative, and judicial officers. In terms of Table II, boards composed of town supervisors and judge and justices of the peace types have excessively large memberships while the board of commissioners or supervisors type usually has too few.

Twenty-seven states require uniformity of numbers in county governing bodies and several others make only one exception to the uniformity rule. This means that whether the county has a population of 3,000 or 300,000, whether it is rural or urban, whether it contains a homogeneous or diverse population, the size of every governing body within each of these states is the same. Some provision for local variation, such as stipulated in the *Principles of a Model County Government*, would seem desirable in view of the diverse conditions of the counties within most every state.

Eighty per cent of the counties

elect governing body members as representatives of particular districts or townships. Only 560 of the 3,050 counties elect all governing body members from the county at large, as shown in Table IV. The dependence upon districts takes various forms—21 per cent of the counties elect one member at large and the

TABLE IV
METHODS OF SELECTION OF COUNTY
GOVERNING BODIES

	<i>Number of Counties</i>	<i>Number of Members</i>
All elected by district	874	8,675
Some elected at large, some by district	645	—
All elected at large with district resi- dence requirement	629	2,354
All elected at large	560	2,271
All elected by town- ship (or town), city	297	7,622
All appointed	22	158
Others	23	—
Total	3,050	21,080

rest by districts and another 21 per cent elect all members at large but require that they be residents of certain districts within the county. In all regions and with all forms of county government main reliance is upon a district or township method of selecting governing body members.

The undesirable features of this method of selection is best illustrated by those counties having the board composed of town supervisors type of body. In these counties the rotten borough system of representation is at its worst, with populous townships electing no more representatives than sparsely settled ones and with urban areas grossly under-represented. Apart from its obvious inequity, the rotten borough system also hinders any consideration of the over-all interests of the county. Log-

rolling becomes the order of the day, with each representative given a relatively free hand in matters affecting his own township or district.

All authorities on local government agree that election at large is preferable to election by districts. In line with this agreement there has been a noticeable trend in cities toward election at large—55.5 per cent of cities over 5,000 electing all council members at large in 1944. As long as their governing bodies are primarily on a district basis, counties will continue to be much less efficient policy-forming and administrative units than would otherwise be the case.

Terms of Office

Although there is considerable diversity in terms of office from county to county and state to state, as indicated in Table V, the most

TABLE V
TERMS OF OFFICE OF COUNTY GOVERNING
BODIES

<i>Term</i>	<i>Number of Counties</i>
2 years, nonoverlapping	749
3 years, overlapping	230
4 years, nonoverlapping	622
4 years, overlapping	802
6 years, nonoverlapping	6
6 years, overlapping	141
Township members 1 year, others vary	82
1 member 2 years, 1 member 4 years, every biennial election	126
2 members 2 years, 1 member 4 years	117
Chairman 4 years, others 2 years nonoverlapping	8
Chairman 6 years, others 4 years nonoverlapping	13
Chairman 6 years, others 4 years overlapping	69
Chairman 8 years, others 4 years nonoverlapping	1
Chairman 8 years, others 6 years nonoverlapping	84
Total	3,050

common method is to elect members for four-year overlapping terms. Some change in terms of office would be wise for those few counties having one-year or eight-year terms; the former occur in Michigan with its board composed of town supervisors type while the latter is a common term for the county judge who is chairman of the governing body in many southern states.

Finally, it may be noted that county governing bodies usually select their chairmen annually. In a substantial number of counties in the south, however, the county judge is the chairman of the governing body. In either case something is left to be desired so far as governing body leadership is concerned. A one-year term is hardly long enough to put through a coordinated program. And a chairman who is also the county judge is not necessarily elected by the voters because of his leadership in county policy.

Conclusions

If counties wish to remain important units of local government, there is an imperative need for them to reorganize their governing bodies. Modern functions of a policy-determining nature require a different organizational structure from the older type of administrative and judicial responsibility. New requirements involve, first of all, placing power and responsibility for policy which is made on a county level in

the hands of the county governing body. This means that the state must delegate more powers to the counties and that within the county itself the state must not diffuse authority among a multiplicity of boards, commissions and officers.

Secondly, county governing body members must not be expected to be jacks-of-all-trades. They should be accountable to the voters for over-all county policy—functional and administrative—only. They should not be concerned with administrative detail, matters of a judicial character, or act as town or township officers.

The twin evils of too large and too small a number of members of county governing bodies need correction before these bodies can adequately deliberate on county affairs and adequately represent county viewpoints. And the district method of selection must go before governing body members will represent a county-wide viewpoint on matters of policy and administration.

Although there is great diversity between the states in the constitution of county governing bodies, there is too much rigid uniformity within each of them. Counties should be allowed to adapt their governments to their needs. Not only does an urban county require a different governmental structure from a rural county, but all counties require organization today different from that of a century ago.

Neglected Cities Turn to U. S.

State indifference to local problems forces Congress to aid in housing, public works, airports, other fields.

By DONOH W. HANKS, JR.*

IT MATTERS little to the municipal official whether municipal autonomy is suspended on the purse strings of the federal government or the purse strings of the state. One is no more desirable than the other except as a stop-gap to be employed until Congress and the state legislatures return to municipalities the exclusive power to levy upon certain resources or make up the balance of the municipalities' fiscal needs by allocating a fair share of taxes collected by the state and federal governments. Neither a federal grant nor a state grant is an adequate substitute for an equitable reapportionment of the tax resources.

Congress seems inclined to strengthen the ties between the federal and municipal governments by increasing the cities' dependency upon revenues collected by the national government and granted to the states and local units. In lieu of unavailable local or shared taxes, cities

have accepted grants wherever they could get them.

Early in the prewar depression cities first asked their state legislatures for broader powers with which to attack the problems of unemployment. During the war cities with swollen populations and obligations which they could not meet sought aid from the states for necessary community facilities. They found little help from the states and much from the Congress through the Lanham Act.

The state leagues of municipalities have continuously urged the governors and the legislatures to make as much provision as possible for municipal financing out of local resources and to make up the difference by sharing certain types of state-collected revenues not readily collectible at the local level.

The question is whether the states will wake up to the facts of municipal life and displace the new, close federal-municipal relationship by considering and providing for the needs of their political subdivisions; or will the awakening be too late and the results too little? Unless there are substantial gains in this direction or a preferable reallocation of revenue resources among the levels of government, the municipalities will be driven further by state-imposed limitations, or by disinterest on the part of the state governments, to seek more federal assistance despite the possible threat to local

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government which may be inherent in this procedure.

In recent months the state governments have shown some interest in obtaining understanding between the states and cities relative to local governmental financing. Some state officials deplore the federal-aid policies. They fear that such policies undermine the power and functions of the states. Others are still reluctant to recognize realities and to do any more than demand that federal aid to municipalities be channeled through and controlled by agencies of the states in order to give the states a function in the federal-aid machinery.

Service Obligations Cost More

There is no question of the inability of most municipalities to meet their service requirements. Before the war the residential capacity of the nation's communities was not more than 100,000,000. Now at least 112,000,000 residents overtax virtually every municipal service. The municipal appeal for help is forced by desperation.

The situation was called to Congress' attention last year by Representative Colmer's Postwar Economic Policy and Planning Committee which remarked that the "service obligations of municipalities are chronically running ahead of the revenues they can obtain." Although the committee recommended a program of federal aid for public construction, it admonished both the federal and state governments "to give the local governments regular access to sources of revenue that will permit them to program their essential local capital improvements."

If the states cannot or will not heed the cities' pleas and warnings, we know that Congress will. We have examples of this substitute for state action in the WPA, the PWA, federal interest in national health, the emergency housing legislation, proposed federal financing to stabilize public construction and employment, federal aid for school lunches and teachers' salaries, and other measures which Congress is now considering.

Extremely urgent is the 2,700,000-unit veterans' emergency housing program. The comprehensive plan contemplates unprecedented production of low-cost housing by subsidizing the building industry to the extent of \$600,000,000 and guaranteeing the market for prefabricated housing. The federal government has taken steps to convert temporary government war housing and barracks, at federal expense, into at least 200,000 temporary dwelling units for veterans' families. An appropriation of \$191,900,000 to the Federal Public Housing Authority for this purpose will be supplemented by an additional \$250,000,000. The administration has implied its readiness to support an appropriation for grants to municipalities where necessary to assist in this preparation. Officials of the Bureau of Community Facilities of the Federal Works Agency doubt that many cities can obtain financing of the water, sewer and public power extensions and of paving necessary before 2,700,000 sites can be obtained.

At present only California and Massachusetts have provided for necessary local improvements con-

current with the emergency housing program. California appropriated \$7,500,000 to finance up to 90 per cent of the non-federal expenditures to obtain additional housing in communities of the state. Massachusetts authorized an increase in municipal debt limits by one-half of one per cent. Two other states, New York and Michigan, have authorized municipalities to cooperate with the program by acquiring sites.

Housing Proposals

Eventually there probably will be general housing and urban redevelopment legislation. Congress has several proposals to increase the federal subsidy of low-rent housing and assist local governments in clearing and redeveloping blighted areas. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which has considerable bipartisan support, has been made a part of the President's emergency housing program. This bill authorizes the National Housing Agency to grant \$100,000,000 a year for five years to help absorb the "write down" in value of land acquired by local governments for redevelopment. It also authorizes NHA to borrow \$500,000,000 which it may lend to local governments.

Municipal officials long ago endorsed the principle of municipalities' sharing state and federal credit for redevelopment purposes. The American Municipal Association called upon Congress "to authorize grants-in-aid to the political subdivisions to help absorb the losses which may be incident to the acquisition of blighted areas." Congress' problem is how to write legislation that will neither deter private enter-

prise nor diminish the locality's taxable resources.

Probably as many municipal officials who desire federal credit to help solve the problem of blight and provide low-rent housing also expect resumption eventually of direct federal assistance for certain other types of local public construction.

The municipal attitude toward federal aid for public works seems to be that municipalities should and will finance entirely the local projects which are immediately required; but projects which are properly listed in a long-term plan, if they are to be undertaken ahead of schedule to help provide jobs or to provide housing for veterans under a joint-federal local program, should be undertaken only with financial assistance from the state or federal government.

Federal grants to states and cities for community facilities to serve emergency housing, for hospital construction and for sewage treatment plants probably can be expected this year or next. As for a general federal public works program, it appears that it will not be authorized before nation-wide unemployment reaches a critical level.

Last year Senator Murray suggested legislation implementing the President's aim to synchronize public works with business conditions. The idea is to have the President require the advancing or withholding of federal aid in order to stimulate local programs in times of unemployment, or decelerate them in good times. Something can be said for the plan. The construction industry normally represents about 18 to 20

per cent of the economy, and public works represents about one-fourth or one-fifth of that. Control of the flow of even no more than 3 to 5 per cent of this industry would have some stabilizing effect upon the national economy. Any effort to level the peaks and valleys of employment, with particular reference to the returned service man and the war worker, is a joint responsibility of the various levels of government and of industry.

Federal Money for Planning

President Truman laid down the federal policy in this year's "State of the Union Message." "With respect to public works of strictly local importance," the President said, "state and local governments should proceed without federal assistance except in planning. This rule should be subject to review when and if the prospect of highly adverse general economic developments warrants it. Our long-run objective is to achieve a program of direct federal and federally-assisted public works which is planned in advance and synchronized with business conditions. In this way it can make its greatest contribution to general economic stability."

The President reminded Congress that only \$30,000,000 had been appropriated for non-interest-bearing loans to local governments to assist in planning public construction. He recommended that this policy be continued and extended this year and next. The Federal Works Agency, which originally requested \$125,000,000 for planning advances, probably will apply for additional funds.

Pointing out that late in 1944 Congress had made provision for highway programs, authorizing funds for the first time to be spent exclusively in urban areas, the President said he hoped early action would be taken to authorize special federal-aid programs in other fields. He listed housing, airports, hospitals, water pollution control facilities and educational plant facilities.

Action is pending on each of these points, and legislation to help build new airports and hospitals has advanced quite far. State and local political connotations are evident in the airport legislation, however. The cause of delay in enactment, after different versions were passed by the House and the Senate, is the conflict of interest between the states and municipalities as to control of the allocations.

House and Senate versions of federal-aid airport programs have been deadlocked in conference committee since mid-October on the issue of whether negotiations for federal grants shall be conducted by the Civil Aeronautics Administration exclusively with the state, or whether grants shall be made to the individual state or local government which sponsors the project and puts up the matching funds. The Senate favors granting \$75,000,000 a year for five years exclusively to state agencies, regardless of the state's interest in airports, financial or otherwise. The House version, supported by every one of the 42 state leagues of municipalities, authorizes grants of \$650,000,000 for ten years, not exceeding \$100,000,000 in any one year. It neither prohibits nor

requires channeling the federal funds through state agencies, but authorizes grants directly to the sponsoring government, state or local.

In this conflict municipal officials contend that the cities are trying to maintain authority equal to their responsibility while the states are trying to seize additional authority without the responsibility.

The question has not arisen with reference to federal aid for hospitals. The Hill-Burton bill, authorizing \$75,000,000 a year for five years to state and local governments for construction of hospitals, passed the Senate in December with the cities' applause. Apparently municipalities are conditioned to a certain amount of state aid for public health purposes and anticipate state participation in the Hill-Burton program. The bill is before a House committee.

Federal aid for construction of sewage treatment plants is developing in the same pattern as that proposed for construction of hospitals. A trio of measures providing federal loans and grants for sewage treatment plants in order to prevent pollution of streams are before the House Rivers and Harbors Committee. The best known of these, the Barkley-Spence bill, authorizes up to \$100,000,000 a year to meet half the cost. Similar legislation passed both houses in 1939 but was killed in conference committee.

Other legislation proposes federal aid to help build state and local school plants, raise teachers' pay, and maintain school lunch programs. It must be observed that legislation in this field is often stymied or

clouded when the bills are amended to prohibit allocations in states which maintain separate school plants for various races.

Most municipal officials have despaired of state assistance for stabilization purposes, or even for the normal functions of government whose requirements, as urban population expands, tend to exceed their revenues. State action in California, New York and a few other states merely points up the indifference of the majority of the state governments.

Localities Await Help

The need now is for speed by Congress in extending help. Many municipalities are hesitating before launching vitally necessary public works programs because they want to know for a certainty how far the federal government will go in sharing the cost. A number of municipalities which have received federal planning advances to help finance the planning of public works projects do not want to begin construction until federal or state aid can be obtained.

President Truman warned Congress in his first message after the war that "the majority of state and local governments are awaiting a decision." This is still the fact. Municipalities want to know where they stand. They want and urgently require authority from their respective states to collect or share adequate tax revenues or they must have adequate grants-in-aid from the federal government. Municipalities have a right to forthright, constructive decisions about future revenue.

Missouri's Apportionment Key

New constitution takes responsibility for redistricting from the legislature; its provisions bring speedy results.

By VICTOR D. BRANNON*

AMONG the first benefits realized from the adoption of Missouri's new constitution on February 27, 1945,¹ are redistricting of the state for the election of senators and reapportionment of representatives among the counties. The machinery and rules provided for these purposes by the new document should be of interest to many other states which have suffered from the failure of legislatures to carry out their responsibility for reapportionment.

Missouri's new constitution takes away from the General Assembly all responsibility for legislative reapportionment. Provision is made for a bipartisan commission appointed by the governor to lay out senatorial districts. Reapportionment of representatives among the counties is made a duty of the elective secretary of state.

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¹See "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, the REVIEW, April 1945, page 165.

This step was taken after many years of legislative inaction. Although the state constitution of 1875 required the General Assembly to carry out a reapportionment at the first session after each decennial federal census, the legislators had never been able to agree upon a plan of senatorial redistricting. They had reapportioned the representatives only in 1882, 1901 and 1921.

Provisions of the new constitution relating to the bases of representation in the two houses of the General Assembly are identical with those of the constitution of 1875.

The various parts of the state are represented in the Senate on the basis of population. Each of the 34 senators is to be elected from a district of "contiguous territory, as compact and nearly equal in population as possible." No county may be divided in the making up of districts composed of more than one county. Hence, each senatorial district consists of one county, a portion of one county, or a group of counties.

In the case of the House of Representatives, the county is given recognition as the primary unit of representation, and population is given less weight than in the Senate. Representatives are to be apportioned among the counties on the basis of a ratio of representation, arrived at by dividing the total population of the state by 200. The following tabulation shows how this ratio is applied to the population of

a county to determine the number of representatives to which it is entitled:

<i>Number of Ratios</i>	<i>Number of Representatives</i>
1 or less	1
2½	2
4	3
6	4

Above six ratios, one representative is allowed for each two and one-half additional ratios.

It is obvious that this formula for apportioning representatives is designed to neutralize the political effect of city growth. Thus, St. Louis City, with a 1940 census population of 816,048, is entitled to eighteen representatives under the formula. In contrast, there are eighteen rural counties with a combined population of only 157,769 which also are entitled to eighteen representatives.

Growth of Metropolitan Areas

In order to understand the failure of the General Assembly to discharge its constitutional responsibilities for legislative reapportionment, it should be borne in mind that Missouri's two large metropolitan centers—St. Louis and Kansas City—have grown steadily and rapidly since the adoption of the old constitution in 1875. On the other hand, the remainder of the state grew slowly until 1900 and then steadily lost population until the downward trend was temporarily reversed during the economic depression of the 30's. This development is shown below:

<i>Year</i>	<i>St. Louis City and County and Jackson County (Kansas City)</i>	<i>Other Counties</i>
1880	464,731	1,703,649
1890	648,587	2,030,598
1900	820,471	2,286,194
1910	1,052,968	2,240,367
1920	1,241,480	2,162,575
1930	1,504,007	2,125,360
1940	1,568,106	2,216,558

St. Louis City, St. Louis County and Jackson County (Kansas City) had 21 per cent of the state's total population in 1880. Thirty years later, in 1910, they had 32 per cent of the total. By 1940 they had 41 per cent of the total.

The problem of reapportioning representatives among the counties was not so difficult politically as senatorial redistricting. More representatives could be given to the St. Louis and Kansas City areas, as their populations grew, without reducing the representation of counties elsewhere. Furthermore, the representation formula described above is such that the number of representatives to which the metropolitan areas were entitled increased at a slower rate than their populations. Even under these circumstances, the General Assembly was able to agree upon only three reapportionments between the years 1875 and 1945.

With the size of the Senate definitely fixed by constitutional provision, the St. Louis and Kansas City areas could be given more senators only by reducing the representation of other parts of the state. Such a result raised the questions of which senators and which party would lose seats in the regrouping of the rural counties. The issue of city-country balance was also ever present. These facts explain to a large extent why the legislators were never able to redistrict the state during the entire life of the constitution of 1875.

The constitution of 1875 attempted to take care of one aspect of this problem. It provided that, if the General Assembly should fail to redistrict the state for the election of senators at the first session after a

federal census, the duty should be performed by the governor, secretary of state and attorney general, within 30 days after the adjournment of the General Assembly. These three elective officials redistricted the state in 1881, 1891 and 1901.

Court Intervenes

In 1911 the secretary of state and the attorney general prepared a plan of senatorial redistricting, but the governor refused to sign the statement setting forth the plan, or to promulgate it as provided for by the constitution, for the reason that the redistricting was, in his opinion, arbitrarily and unequally done. The State Supreme Court held the redistricting plan to be inoperative because of the refusal of the governor to promulgate it.² The court went on to state that, even though the governor should promulgate the plan, it would be invalid because it failed to observe the constitutional requirements that the districts be "as compact and nearly equal in population as possible." It was further held by the court that the three executive officials, in redistricting the state when the General Assembly failed to do so, were exercising legislative authority, and therefore could no more be compelled by mandamus to act than the General Assembly could be.

In 1921, and again in 1931, the governor, secretary of state and attorney general redistricted the state for the election of senators. Both acts were invalidated by the State Supreme Court, however, on

the grounds that the constitutional provisions authorizing the three executive officials to redistrict were annulled by the terms of the initiative and referendum adopted in 1908.³ This amendment specified that the "legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a senate and a house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves the right to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and . . . to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly." It was the opinion of the court that this amendment withdrew from the three executive officials their "legislative" power to redistrict the state in case the General Assembly failed to do so.

These court decisions left Missouri with the senatorial districts established in 1901. With a few exceptions, the districts were then fairly equal in population.

By 1940 the senatorial districts had become grossly inequitable from the standpoint of population. The proper senatorial quotient at that time was 111,314. In contrast, one district made up of three rural counties had a population of only 45,718 or 59 per cent less than the quotient, while the district made up of St. Louis County and two rural counties had a population of 320,512 or 188 per cent more than the quotient. In Jackson County (Kansas City), the average population per district was 238,914 or 115 per cent more than the quotient. In St. Louis

²*State ex rel. v. Hitchcock* (1911) 241 Mo. 433, 146 S. W. 40.

³*Lashly v. Becker* (1921) 290 Mo. 560, 235 S. W. 1017; *Gordon v. Becker* (1932) 329 Mo. 1053, 49 S. W. (2d) 146.

City, the average population per district was 136,008 or 22 per cent more than the quotient, but the estimated population for individual districts within the city ranged from 44,252 to 241,955. Of the 34 state senatorial districts, 26 had populations in 1940 which varied from the quotient by more than 25 per cent.

It has been generally alleged in Missouri that the senatorial districts of 1901 were created in such a way that the Democrats would be assured of controlling the Senate. That there was some basis for this charge is indicated by the fact that, during the period from 1901 to 1945, the Republicans have obtained a majority of the senatorial seats only in the 1921 session and the current 1945 session. Even in the 1929 session, when the Republicans had a majority of 103 to 47 in the House of Representatives and had held majorities in the House during the two previous sessions, the Democrats controlled the Senate by 19 to 15.

Senatorial redistricting was one of the most controversial issues before the State Constitutional Convention, which met from September 21, 1943, to September 29, 1944. To have undertaken to lay out new districts would have precipitated a bitter partisan fight. It might have endangered the adoption of the new constitution, both by arousing political opposition and by intensifying city-country rivalry. Many leaders of the convention were of the opinion that the detailed work of redistricting was not a proper function of the convention, and that the convention should limit itself to writing into the constitution provisions for adequate

machinery and rules for this function. Fortunately, it would seem, this opinion prevailed.

New Provisions

Under the provisions of the constitution of 1945, the governor is required to appoint a redistricting commission within 90 days after the effective date of the constitution and also within 90 days after each decennial census of the United States. The commission consists of ten members, chosen in equal numbers from lists of ten names submitted by the state committees of the two political parties casting the highest vote for governor at the last preceding election. If either state committee fails to submit a list, the governor appoints five members of his own choice from the party of such committee. Each member of the commission receives \$15 a day but his total compensation may not exceed \$1,000.

It is provided that the commission shall redistrict the state on the basis of a senatorial quotient computed by dividing the total population by 34. The population of no district may vary from the quotient by more than 25 per cent. As pointed out above, no county may be divided in the making of districts composed of more than one county. Where a county is entitled to more than one senator, the commission assigns district numbers, but the county is divided into districts by the county court, except in St. Louis City where this function is performed by the Board of Election Commissioners.

For adoption, a redistricting plan must be approved by seven of the ten commission members. Failure to adopt a plan within six months after

the appointment of the commission results in its discharge. The senators to be elected at the next election are in that case elected from the state at large, after which a new commission is appointed. A redistricting plan is not subject to referendum.

The provision for election of senators at large in case the commission fails to redistrict the state is designed to put teeth into the procedure. A candidate is usually in a better position to gauge his strength in his home community than in the state as a whole. Election at large would entail greater uncertainties and increased campaign expense. Also, in a state where the voters frequently switch from one party column to another as in Missouri, there is little inducement for either party to favor election of senators at large.

In accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, Governor Phil M. Donnelly, on May 25, 1945, appointed a senatorial redistricting commission from the lists of nominees submitted by the state committees of the Democratic and Republican parties. The commission filed with the Secretary of State, on October, 19, a statement setting forth the new districts.

Senate Plan Approved

The plan drafted by the commission has met with general approval and probably represents as good a job of redistricting as could be done. The districts seem to meet the constitutional requirement that they be "as compact and nearly equal in population as possible." So far as can be determined, the district lines are not drawn to give either political party an unfair advantage.

Under the redistricting plan, St. Louis City will have seven senators instead of the present six. St. Louis County, which now shares one senator with two rural counties, will have two senators by itself. Jackson County (Kansas City) will have four senators instead of two. These two metropolitan centers, with 41 per cent of the state's population in 1940, will have 38 per cent of the senators as compared to only 26 per cent at the present time.

The tabulation below shows the average 1940 population per senator in the metropolitan areas and the remainder of the state under the recent apportionment, as compared to the senatorial quotient of 111,314:

	<i>Average Population Per Senator</i>	<i>Above-or Below Quotient</i>
St. Louis City	116,578	+ 4.7%
St. Louis County	137,115	+23.2
Jackson County (Kansas City)	119,457	+ 7.3
Other districts	105,550	- 5.2

The 21 districts outside the St. Louis and Kansas City areas have populations ranging from 85,739 or 23 per cent less than the senatorial quotient to 131,235 or 18 per cent in excess of it. In fourteen of these districts the population is within 15 per cent of the quotient, and in 20 districts it is within 20 per cent of the quotient. Thus, it will be seen that the commission stayed well within the 25 per cent variation permitted by the constitution of 1945.

It is possible, however, that a future redistricting commission may find itself unable to stay within the 25 per cent variation because of the provision that no county shall be divided in the making of districts

composed of more than one county. For example, the senatorial quotient based on the 1940 census is 111,314, and a district may thus have a minimum population of 83,485 and a maximum of 139,143. If a county had a population of 150,000 it would clearly be entitled to one senator, but the population of the district would be 35 per cent more than the quotient. The county could not be given two senators, for the population per senator would be 33 per cent less than the quotient. In such case, the 25 per cent requirement could be met only by dividing the county and combining part of it with one or more other counties to make a district, and this procedure is prohibited by the terms of the constitution. What the attitude of the courts would be in this situation remains to be seen.

First Trial Satisfactory

In view of the first experience with the new provisions for senatorial redistricting, it seems that Missouri has found a reasonably satisfactory answer to this troublesome problem. The threat of election of senators at large if the state is not redistricted should be sufficient to assure that this function is performed every ten years. A similar provision ought to be equally effective in assuring redistricting in many other states which may want to benefit from Missouri's experience.

Reapportionment of representatives among the counties by the secretary of state, as provided by the new constitution, has not been tried yet, but this method ought to prove success-

ful. A reapportionment of representatives on the basis of the 1940 census was made by the Constitutional Convention. Under this reapportionment, the number of representatives for St. Louis County is increased from three to seven, the number for St. Louis City is reduced from 19 to 18, and the number for Jackson County (Kansas City) is increased from 10 to 11.

In reapportioning representatives among the counties after each federal census in the future, the secretary of state need simply apply the ratio of representation described above. His work in this connection will be that of making arithmetical calculations and will involve no discretionary power. If he fails to discharge this duty, it should be possible to obtain a writ of mandamus against him, for it would seem that reapportionment is clearly not a legislative function under the new constitution.

The two metropolitan centers will still be underrepresented in the House of Representatives on the basis of their population because of the apportionment formula prescribed by the constitution. Under the reapportionment based on the 1940 census, St. Louis City, St. Louis County, and Jackson County (Kansas City) will have only 23 per cent of the total number of representatives, although they have 41 per cent of the state's population. But they will have the full representation to which they are entitled under the state constitution, and that will be a definite step forward.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Strikes and Strike Threats in Public Employment

Grave Labor Problems in New York City and Houston

THE threatened strike of the Transport Workers Union on the municipally-owned transportation system in New York City, narrowly averted on February 26, focused public attention again on the question of collective bargaining and the right to strike in public employment.

Michael Quill, member of the City Council and national president of the TWU, which is affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, had presented demands to the city's Board of Transportation which included a wage increase of \$2 per day and sole collective bargaining rights for the TWU. The latter claims to have a majority of the 32,000 employees of the board, which operates the city-wide rapid transit system and also the street-railway and bus lines in the borough of Brooklyn and part of the borough of Queens. This claim was disputed by the board and by six organizations or unions having members in the city's transportation system, where many employees are also unorganized. An important factor in the situation appeared to be the intention of "District 50" of the United Mine Workers to campaign for as large a membership as possible among the board's employees.

A strike was announced by TWU for February 27 unless the board should accede to the demands. Mayor William F. O'Dwyer was given the unanimous support of the Board of Estimate, the

city's primary governing body, in meeting the strike threat. Employees of other city departments were screened to obtain substitute personnel for the transit lines and their power plants, in addition to the non-TWU workers, and the police were placed in readiness for the emergency and the consequent vast disruption in the life of the city.

The question of wage increases had already been made a matter of consideration and negotiation. As to the demand for sole bargaining rights, John J. Bennett, the city's corporation counsel and former state attorney general, rendered to the Mayor his formal opinion stating in part:

"Because of constitutional provision and state laws, it is clear that no one group of civil service employees can be granted sole and exclusive bargaining rights as against a governmental body such as the Board of Transportation."

He also quoted the late President Roosevelt to the effect that collective bargaining, as usually understood, is inapplicable to public employment.

Mayor O'Dwyer telegraphed to Philip Murray, CIO president, who entered the discussions, and on February 26 an agreement was announced whereby TWU withdrew its demand for sole bargaining rights and referred its other claims to a special transit committee of five men and women named by the Mayor to consider working conditions, wages and labor relations for all the city's transportation employees.

The TWU has contracts with some of the privately-owned bus lines in the borough of Manhattan, and had announced that these contracts would be observed and its members would remain at work on these lines.

One thorny element related to the transit labor situation is the annual deficit of \$45,000,000 or more by which

operating expenses and fixed charges on the city's investment exceed revenues from the five-cent fare, while much expenditure for improvements is called for. A large wage increase would increase the deficit and imperil the ability of the system even to meet operating expenses alone. Real estate and allied interests wish to increase fares so as to make the system self-sustaining if possible; bills to create a transit "authority" with that objective are before the legislature. Others contend that the riders should not pay the full cost of an essential public enterprise that creates or enhances property values. Failure to pay operating expenses, however, would make the fare issue more acute. Various schemes of fare adjustment, including increases partially offset by free transfers, have been proposed.

Mayor O'Dwyer has expressed the hope that the new committee will set a pattern for the solution of similar problems in other city departments and agencies. On February 27 he took the Sanitation Department to task for having continued the recognition of a single union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL) as sole bargaining agent for the employees of that department.

Houston Employees Strike

Garbage collection, street maintenance and certain other city departments in Houston, Texas, were halted on February 20 by a strike of the City-County Employees Union (AFL), said to involve 640 employees, whose demands for wage increases of 12½ to 25 per cent had been rejected. Garbage piled up on streets and sidewalks. Picket lines were enjoined on February 23, but were taken over by other unions. After breakdown of negotiations for union recognition and wage increases a threat was made to withdraw all workers from the city-owned water,

gas and sewage plants, but was rescinded after a turbulent meeting of the City Council.

The strike lasted seven days in the course of which AFL unions in a sympathy move called a one-day work "holiday" and marched on the City Hall in protest against refusal of the city to negotiate. The city had discharged striking employees, but in an agreement on February 26 ending the strike it restored the men to their former status and instituted a survey of salaries by the Civil Service Commission.

While the current industrial unrest has thus far caused few crises in public employment, the two preceding cases serve to emphasize the importance and the dangers of the situation and the need for better understanding, higher morale, enlightened policies and adequate machinery to promote fair treatment for employees, administrators and the public.

The Committee on Public Employer-Employee Relations of the National Civil Service League has recently issued a comprehensive statement of essentials of public policy as to the relations of government and its employees, and the rights and obligations of administrators, legislators, employees and the general public. It gives careful consideration to the questions of organization, contract, disputes, strikes, and cooperation with and by public employees. (See page 161 of this issue.)

Virginia Restricts Public Employee Unions

Upon the recommendation of Governor Tuck the Virginia legislature at its recent session adopted a resolution declaring it to be against public policy for the state or any of its political subdivisions to sign a contract with a labor union.

The legislature also passed a bill

which provides that any employee of the state or its subdivisions "who, in concert with two or more other such employees for the purpose of obstructing, impeding or suspending any activity or operation of his employing agency, or any other governmental agency, strikes or wilfully refuses to properly perform the duties of his employment" shall be ineligible for re-employment of the state or its subdivisions for a period of one year.

Virginia Makes Progress in Electoral Reforms

The legislature of Virginia, at its recently ended session, gave its initial approval to constitutional amendments designed to improve the state election system. Passage by a subsequent legislature will also be necessary, to be followed by a vote of the people, probably in 1948.

According to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (Virginius Dabney, editor), "No action taken by the General Assembly of 1946 surpasses in importance its adoption of a comprehensive program of suffrage reform . . . This is by all odds the most important development in the field of the franchise that Virginia has seen since the constitutional convention of 1901-02."

The notable features of the program are listed by the *Times-Dispatch* as follows:

"(1) Repeal of the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting, but not as a revenue-producing measure. . . .

"(2) Provision for annual registration. . . .

"(3) Creation of a Central Electoral Board to supervise elections and hold fraud to a minimum. . . .

"(4) Tightening up of the absent voter laws, which have been the source of such widespread corruption throughout the commonwealth. This barely got through the Senate in acceptable

form, since elimination of the vitally important affidavit required from absent voters came within one vote of success in that body. Elimination was prevented by Lieutenant-Governor Collins, who earned public thanks by casting the deciding ballot against it. The physician's certificate required of ill persons, in addition to the affidavit, was cut out of the bill by the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections. This definitely weakened the controls over absent voter frauds, but enough controls remain to give us a much-improved situation."

Michigan Legislature Aids Veterans, Schools, Institutions

Postwar needs of war veterans were the chief objective of the special session of the Michigan legislature, which adjourned February 21 after three weeks of argument over many other issues. Governor Harry F. Kelly, who suffered many serious wounds when he served in World War I, insisted that problems of the veterans should have first place, though he did not succeed in keeping out of the debates such controversies as financial aid to Michigan cities, aid to public schools, etc.

A trust fund of \$50,000,000 was finally created for emergency help to veterans in need after proposals for bonus payments were voted down. Recognizing existence of a large state surplus, accruing chiefly from the sales tax, Governor Kelly decreed that needs of veterans and of state institutions must be satisfied, and that any assignment of state funds for aid of cities might put the state "in the red" in 1947. Not being a candidate for a third two-year term, the Governor was able to have his way in the special session.

Appropriations were voted for a total of \$37,000,000, or \$10,000,000 more than the state surplus is expected to reach

by July 1, 1947. In the list of appropriations were: \$5,700,000 for mental hospitals; \$3,300,000 to the University of Michigan; \$3,000,000 to Michigan State College; various sums to other state agencies for a total of more than \$20,000,000. With unspent past appropriations the state can embark on \$39,000,000 in construction programs. Another sum of \$3,200,000 a year will go to aid public schools, most of it for teachers' salaries. Wayne University, Detroit, will get \$2,700,000 to expand facilities for serving thousands of returned veterans. The question of further aid to Wayne in future, and of the measure of state control to be exercised in this municipal institution, was left for future decision. Here is a delicate problem as between city and state.

The big fight of the session was over demands of the cities for some state aid. A year ago they wanted a sixth of the 3 per cent sales tax money for local needs. The Governor held that some cities needed no help and others, not including Detroit, should get from under the fifteen-mill tax limit. This argument will fill the air until the regular session of next January.

On Governor Kelly's insistence the date of the primary was again advanced, this time from September to June 18, though only a tiny handful of voters in service have voted in the primaries of the last two years. Authorization to re-license businesses of veterans may add 500 more saloons in Detroit, which already has three times its previously designated quota. Retroactive homestead tax exemption benefits that might reach \$4,000,000 also were voted for veterans who failed to claim them during the years of hostilities.

W. P. LOVETT, *Executive Secretary*
Detroit Citizens League

Council Manager Plan Developments

In a special election held the first week in March in **Aberdeen, South Dakota**, a proposal to replace the commission system with the manager plan carried by a vote of 3,782 to 1,831. It carried every precinct in the city but one. The election was preceded by a spirited campaign led by members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. A nine-member council is to be elected in the near future and then the selection of a manager will be made. Aberdeen will be the third and largest manager city in South Dakota, the others being Rapid City and Clark.

The city of **Nevada, Missouri**, adopted the council-manager plan at a special election on February 26. It is the sixth city in that state to adopt the plan, and the second to do so since the new constitution of 1945 gave greater home rule powers to cities. With a population of 8,181 (1940 census), Nevada turned out a vote of 2,649, of which 1,500 were for the manager plan. It was sponsored largely by the organized Veterans of World War II and was unanimously endorsed by the trustees of the Chamber of Commerce. The election was called as the result of a petition signed by many more than the requisite 25 per cent of the vote at the last general election. The primary election for a new City Council was on March 19, the final or general election being on April 2.

After having an optional town manager law on the statute books for seventeen years, during which time no town has adopted the plan, interest has suddenly surged in various localities in New Hampshire. On March 12 **Conway**, by a town meeting vote of 211 to 202, became the first town in the state to adopt the manager plan under the 1929 act. The Board of

Selectmen and the local newspaper opposed the plan but an able citizens' committee worked hard for its adoption.

Voters of the town of **Milford, New Hampshire**, have authorized their selectmen to appoint a superintendent of public works to assume full control of the highway, water and sewer departments, parks and playgrounds, cemeteries, building inspector, maintenance of buildings, etc. The superintendent will hold office at the pleasure of the selectmen and appoint all employees under his direction, fixing their salaries and wages. He will act as budget officer for the selectmen and advise them regarding purchasing for his departments.

The town of **Hanover, New Hampshire**, has voted to employ a town assistant for the selectmen who will be a full-time employee, giving whatever administrative assistance they desire. The intent of the planning board which sponsored the proposal was that such officer should approximate a town manager. The following night the voters of **Hanover Village** voted to participate with the town in hiring the assistant as their administrative official.

Bucksport, Maine, adopted the town manager plan under the state's 1939 enabling act at a special town meeting in January. The selectmen were given authority to employ a manager, and it was decided that the number of selectmen be increased from three to seven. On February 15 the town of **Freeport** also adopted the town manager plan.

The city council of **Charles City, Iowa**, on February 18 passed an ordinance providing for a limited city manager plan, under which all city departments would be under a manager except the police department, which remains under the mayor, and

the fire department, under the City Council. A still more restricted plan had been in effect twice before, and was last repealed on July 20, 1931.

In **Edinburg, Texas**, a council-manager ordinance was passed on January 15, and a manager has been appointed.

Vallejo, California, adopted a council-manager charter at a special election on February 19 by a vote of 2,687 to 463; the total vote was about one-fourth of the number of registered voters. The new form of government will supplant a three-man commission.

In **Santa Monica, California**, the Board of Freeholders elected to draft a new charter unanimously decided on February 19 to use the council-manager plan, and to separate completely administrative and policy-making functions of the city government. Twelve members were in attendance and the others approved the plan by proxy.

The City Council of **Revere, Massachusetts**, voted on February 25 for a referendum on "Plan E" (manager-P.R.) at the 1947 municipal election; a petition of 3,000 names was received.

In **Beverly, Massachusetts**, at the annual service clubs' supper on February 20, George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, described the success of council-manager government under Plan E in the latter city.

A committee of 100 has been organized in **Charleston, West Virginia**, to promote a nonpartisan council-manager charter; it is circulating petitions calling for a referendum on framing a new charter.

The Mayor of **Hagerstown, Maryland**, has proposed a commission form of government for that city, but the council-manager plan is advocated by others, including prominent members of the Chamber of Commerce.

Ypsilanti, Michigan, defeated a manager proposal 1,534 to 1,034.

Rochester, Minnesota, has also voted against the manager plan.

Petitions have been circulated in **Kaukauna, Wisconsin**, calling for a referendum on the adoption of the manager plan. The movement has the support of Mayor L. F. Nelson.

In **Sheboygan, Wisconsin**, the question of adoption of the council-manager plan is expected to be submitted to a vote in the near future.

Much interest in the manager plan and in charter adoption or revision generally in **Missouri** cities and counties is reported by the Missouri Public Expenditure Survey. **University City** votes April 2 on whether to draft a charter. In **Hannibal** a citizens' committee and the *Courier-Post* have been working for the manager plan, and the **Poplar Bluff American-Republic** has issued an emphatic editorial call for its adoption. Speakers have discussed the merits of the plan at the behest of civic clubs in **Cape Girardeau, Jefferson City** and **Mexico**, and in the latter city the *Daily Ledger* has carried a series of articles on the subject. The *Springfield Leader and Press* recently carried an extensive presentation on the operation of Neosho's council manager plan, and that plan or other re-vamping of municipal government is being discussed in **Columbia, Louisiana, Macon** and **Lebanon**.

The voters of **Junction City, Kansas**, will vote April 2 on the question of whether the city shall adopt the manager plan as provided by state law.

Hot Springs, New Mexico, defeated a council-manager proposal at a special election on February 5, by a vote of 286 to 122. But **Hot Springs, South Dakota**, is showing active interest in the manager plan, which is favored by Mayor D. W. Sewright and the weekly newspaper, the *Hot Springs Star*.

Other municipalities where interest in the plan is manifest include **Frank-**

lin, Massachusetts, West Point, Virginia, Sidney, Ohio, Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, Norfolk, Beatrice, Hay Springs and Nebraska City, Nebraska, Deadwood, South Dakota, Owosso, Michigan, Ada, Oklahoma, Burlingame, California, and Grenada and Meridian, Mississippi.

California city managers held their annual spring meeting at Sacramento, February 22 and 23, with an attendance of 29 out of 38 managers in that state. In Michigan 39 managers met in Lansing January 30 to February 1. Eleven Oregon managers met in Portland on January 20.

The ICMA reports that 135 manager appointments were made in 1945, of which seventeen were promotions within the city, 25 were manager promotions from other cities, 25 were former managers returning to manager positions, 32 were from other administrative positions in other cities; the other 36 either came from non-governmental positions or the background had not been learned. The number of departing managers was 90, of which number ten had died, five retired, fourteen went into other governmental service, 41 entered private business and the others into a variety of occupations. The average length of service, as of the end of 1945, had increased to seven years and ten months.

Pennsylvania Local Government Filmed in Action

The Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs has made available to the public a 16-millimeter sound film entitled "Pennsylvania Local Government in Action." It was produced by the motion picture and recording studio of the Pennsylvania State College extension services and takes 22 minutes to run. The department will release it to local government groups,

service clubs, civic organizations and schools free of charge.

The film includes several sequences of animation to illustrate governmental organization, and shots of playgrounds and parks, housing, traffic, a health clinic, road building, police, fire company activities, water works, a sewage disposal plant and other local government activities which were filmed in many municipalities throughout the state. It is intended to show the variety and color of local government, to emphasize its importance and indicate some of its most pressing current problems, and also to promote unity of spirit and purpose among Pennsylvania local government officials.

Changing Federal Civil Service to Peacetime Basis

The United States Civil Service Commission, acting under authority of an executive order by President Truman, has issued regulations for the transition of the federal civil service to a peacetime basis. The commission is taking steps toward the resumption of regular civil service examinations for permanent appointments, eligible lists having been exhausted during the war. Instead of any more "war service" appointments, regular temporary appointments will be made where needed pending establishment of eligible lists, with preference for disabled and non-disabled veterans and for displaced federal workers, in the order given. Persons holding war service appointments can compete in the regular examinations.

Special boards of examiners will be created for filling positions in the field services and special committees of expert examiners will take care of scientific, professional and technical positions in Washington. A considerable measure of authority and responsibility for execution of the transitional pro-

gram will be delegated to the various federal departments, according to the Civil Service Assembly. In this connection the following resolution, adopted by the National Civil Service League at its annual meeting on February 20, is of interest:

"RESOLVED, That the league recognizes the practical difficulties prompting the President's Executive Order authorizing the federal agencies to conduct examinations and establish eligible lists for professional, scientific and technical positions in the departmental services and for all positions in the field services, and believes that this order will expedite reconversion of the federal civil service to a peacetime basis.

"The league believes that the special examiners to be designated by the departments should, while acting in such capacity, be deemed to be agents of the U. S. Civil Service Commission and responsible to the commission for their official acts while serving as special examiners, so that the responsibility for administering civil service examinations throughout the federal service may remain under the direct supervision and control of the commission.

"The league urges the public to be on the alert to scotch any attempts to cover in incompetent war-duration appointees."

Nation-wide Police Traffic Safety Check Planned

The many beneficial results of the brake check program conducted last spring and the alarming current upswing in traffic accidents has caused the Board of Officers of the International Association of Chiefs of Police to re-examine the need for further united action by the police. The Executive Committee of the IACP has voted to launch another activity in the United States and Canada whereby all

police and sheriffs will be working simultaneously on the same program. The united attack, to be conducted by the Safety Division of the IACP, will be similar to the brake program but wider in scope, and will include trucks and buses as well as passenger cars. The new program will be called "The Police Traffic Safety Check" keynoting the following points: Check your driving, check your car, check accidents!

The program will be launched May 15, 1946, immediately following President Truman's three-day Highway Safety Conference.

As last year, those involved in an accident or stopped for a traffic violation will be subject to the check. The officer will check these items: brakes (using the one-inch block check, except on trucks and buses), lights (including stop lights), tires with due notation of cuts, fabric breaks and excessive wear, windshield wipers and horns. These conditions will be indicated on a duplicate check list, a copy of which will be given the motorist. Departments and cooperating organizations will be encouraged also to provide for checking cars whose operators ask to have it done, which voluntary action is essential to the success of such an undertaking by the police.

ROBERT E. RALEIGH,

Associate Director

Safety Division, IACP

High State Courts Approve Ban of Overhanging Street Signs

After three years of litigation the city of New Rochelle, New York, has succeeded in obtaining from the New York Court of Appeals unanimous approval of the legality of a local ordinance prohibiting signs that project over public sidewalks and highways. A previous ordinance attempting to do likewise, but too loosely drawn, had been ruled out, but a revised or-

dinance had been upheld by the Westchester County Supreme Court and the Appellate Division, and the Court of Appeals affirmed without opinion. Marquees on theaters, hotels and public buildings are permitted by the ordinance.

Late in 1945 the Michigan Supreme Court upheld the right of the city of Detroit to control or eliminate overhanging signs on Woodward Avenue.

Merit Systems for Local to International Levels

The recent annual report of the National Civil Service League urges that the principles of the merit system be applied to the staff of the United Nations Organization as well as to our federal, state and local governments. In recommending that the United States take the lead in such a policy the league asserts that this would assure, as well as any device can, impartiality of staff selection, independence of international pressure, competence for performance of responsibilities, and continuity of policies of administration.

The report commends the federal civil service system as having come through the war years with enhanced prestige, despite early confusion and some occasional blundering, and notwithstanding some over-expansion of the federal service inevitable during wartime. It points out that the problems of readjustment from war to peace are almost as challenging as were the demands of war, and stresses the need of keeping and attracting the high professional, scientific, technical and administrative talent which we were able to recruit in backing up the armed forces in order to prevent the vital task of administrative management in the federal government from falling into mediocre hands. The League sug-

gests that three aggressive steps be immediately taken:

(1) Raise the ceiling for salaries in the high executive and administrative positions;

(2) Modernize methods of recruiting so as to bring the most competent potential appointees and the jobs together more expeditiously;

(3) Keep public administrators free of disturbing and time-consuming pressure from job-hunters and those seeking to retain inefficient employees.

The league comments that there is vital need for research in choosing and administering personnel and that public personnel agencies have done little to study and appraise examination methods and other processes to determine their real usefulness.

Concerned with the growing tendency of organized civil service employees to turn to the power of the strike, the league also calls attention to "the tendency to transplant to the public service from private industry certain employer-employee arrangements which are neither necessary nor desirable in the public service." The report points out that it is the responsibility of government to establish machinery to assure that public employees have justice, but it reaffirms its stand that civil service employees must not have the right to strike, that collective bargaining as recognized in private industry is not applicable in the public service, and that the closed shop is inimical to the merit system in the public service.

Recognizing that war veterans are entitled to reasonable preference in appointments to the civil service, the report cautions the public to "take care that advocates of veteran preference, making use of the noble enthusiasm of the people over their returning heroes, do not exploit this enthusiasm in a way which is chiefly useful to politicians anxious to capture soldier votes."

Researcher's Digest

Research Groups Explore Cost of Government

*New York, Rhode Island,
Various Cities Studied*

THOUGH *Trends in Management and Costs of New York State Government* (262 pages) "gives illustrations from one state, its concrete cases also illustrate problems that beset all our states and cities, as well as our federal system, under present-day social and political stresses," says Abbett Pulliam, its author. Mr. Pulliam, executive vice-president of **Governmental Research, Inc., of New York State**, feels it would be hard to find a better laboratory than New York State for study of the problems besetting our government system, with its wide variety of local governments totaling some 7,182 separate taxing units.

"The trends in policies and practices here cited," he says, "show with stark clearness the need for greater understanding of the complex forces of expanding government and the urgent need for adapting our traditional system of checks and balances to the growing modern problems of legislation and administration." The "trends" which the author cites "have led to soaring costs of both state and local government . . . Increases are documented in both intra- and interstate comparisons of operating costs, taxes, debts, surpluses, and related financial trends."

"An outstanding management and cost need that emerges from these trends is for a broader and fuller use of checks and balances in government," says Mr. Pulliam. Recommended changes include a new conception of the comptroller's position. "As an

elected official he is not subordinate to the governor or to any other officer. He is not a spender, but a challenger and a tester." Suggested management changes include a reduction of state departments to ten, reorganization of all departments headed by boards or commissions to give the governor appointive power over and full direction of them; more reporting on measurements of work done compared to the personnel used; budgeting under accepted modern principles and constitutional requirements; and many others.

Local Finance in Rhode Island

The **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council**, whose executive director is Robert M. Goodrich, has compiled a statement on local government finances for the 39 cities and towns of the state. Titled *Your Tax Dollar* (eight pages), it sets forth in tabular form per capita costs, sources of income, expenditures, real estate and personal holdings, tax levy and indebtedness for the fiscal year 1944. Commenting that the council had found it necessary in compiling the statistics to reclassify receipts and expenditures to a standard classification, the publication says: "The need for improved and uniform accounting by all local governments is abundantly clear to anyone who has a concern in Rhode Island's governmental affairs. For the improvement of the local government, for the guidance of the General Assembly in establishing state tax policies, for the citizen seeking a congenial residential location, and for the industry seeking a new site, full, reliable and convincing information on the respective conditions in the several local governments is a primary requisite."

In the same state the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** has compiled *Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island, 1936-1945* (15

pages), which "undertakes to present in convenient form the financial information authorities usually consider necessary for soundly evaluating municipal credit." Tables set forth assessed valuations, tax rates, tax collections, indebtedness, future debt service requirements, summaries of revenues and expenditures and departmental expenditures. Robert E. Pickup is executive director of the bureau.

Wilmington Studied

A *Study of the Financial Operations of the City of Wilmington* has been prepared by the **Tax Research Bureau of the Delaware Chamber of Commerce**, John W. Nowland, director. Statistics are presented by means of graphs showing the city's total bonded debt from 1933 to the present time and a forecast of the reductions of the existing debt to 1967; total principal to be paid each year; revenues and expenditures from 1936-37 to the current year; bonded debt interest; assessed valuation; etc.

Apportionment of the tax levy in Duluth, with figures running from 1925 to 1946, is set forth by the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau's** two-page publication on *Duluth Taxes—1946*. The bureau cites figures showing that taxes for 1946 will be increased by \$538,000 over last year. Its executive secretary is Harry Reed.

Inaugurating a new policy, the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association, Inc.**, whose president is John Dawson, has published in a single issue of *The North Dakota Taxpayer* the bulk of the statistical material dealing with state, county and school finances formerly scattered through several numbers. The January issue of 56 pages contains comprehensive tables setting forth debt, revenues, expenditures and taxes for the three levels of government. School figures are listed by counties. In some

instances tables show comparative figures as far back as 1890.

"The approval 'by the people' last week of the charter amendment to permit a 2½ mill increase in the Cleveland city operating levy for the current year does not solve the city's financial problem," says the **Cleveland Citizens League**, John E. Bebout, director. "It simply gives the city a few more months in which to seek long-range answers, without the immediate deterioration of municipal services and morale which would certainly have resulted from the failure to obtain additional money for operating this year."

Public Administration Program in Michigan

A new **Institute of Public Administration** with a four-fold program has been established at the University of Michigan, Provost James P. Adams has announced, to be in operation by the summer session. Its purposes are:

1. Provide instruction and counseling for graduate and undergraduate students in public administration;

2. Conduct research on matters of public interest, such as finance and taxation, social security, management, employment;

3. Offer services to public administrative offices and legislative bodies. Frequently these services, as well as research activities, will be carried on in cooperation with off-campus agencies interested in similar problems.

4. Provide "in-service training" to advanced students through cooperation with offices of various units of government and offer short courses to public employees. (This phase of the program will not be started immediately.)

The institute, Provost Adams said, is "a more formal organization and integration of programs of instruction,

research and public service in which the university has long maintained a lively interest."

The university's Bureau of Government, directed by Robert S. Ford, associate professor of economics, will become a part of the institute and will function largely as a research and service branch.

John A. Perkins, assistant professor of political science, has been named secretary of the institute's executive committee. His primary duties will be to administer the educational phases of the program, including counseling of students.

Research in matters of public concern will be an important function of the institute. It will accept grants from units of government or other bodies which wish to have special studies made and will train advanced students in research techniques.

Through the in-service training program, when it is in operation, students will have an opportunity to serve in a type of apprenticeship, while the short courses for public employees will open the institute's facilities to officials who wish to add to their abilities in managing public affairs.

The 'Know How' of Effective Research

"Get Facts"—*A Manual of Research Procedure* is the latest report issued by the **City Club of Portland** (Oregon). "While primarily designed for City Club committee procedure," says the foreword to the seven-page pamphlet, "it is hoped that methods outlined will be found adaptable, at least in part, to the needs of other lay study groups." The report was prepared by an appointed committee headed by Anson S. Frohman, chairman. Discussion covers aims and activities, origination of reports, selection of committee personnel, scope of study, committee proce-

ture and policies, the first meeting, methods of research, preparation of reports, presentation of reports and presentation to club members. An appendix sets forth a "typical outline for procedure in City Club study as used in organizing a successful report." Miss Virginia Shirley is executive secretary of the club.

Robert M. Goodrich, executive director of the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council**, is author of "Essentials of a Good Research Report," an article appearing in *Notes & References* published by the **Governmental Research Association**. "Experience has demonstrated," says Mr. Goodrich in his summary, "that the research report, when properly used, is an effective technique available to citizen agencies for accomplishing certain purposes. It is by no means the only useful procedure, and in recent years it probably has been used less frequently than was the case twenty or thirty years ago when many of the presently available techniques were being developed. Today the need is more largely one of inducing governments to adopt proven techniques. Nevertheless, it is still necessary to keep ahead of the parade, and to know when old ideas are no longer appropriate. The research report definitely has its usefulness."

Detroit Legislative Districts Need Change

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, Loren B. Miller, director, has issued a research report on *Representative Districts* (seven pages). State senatorial and congressional districts are discussed, with maps showing present lines and bureau proposals for revision. So far as representation in the State House of Representatives is concerned, the Michigan constitution provides that no city shall be subdivided. Detroit, therefore, elects its 21 state representatives at large "with re-

sults that are obvious," says the bureau. This situation, it feels, creates "too large a task for effective, intelligent citizen participation. The bureau suggests that all three present apportionments should be changed and could be acted upon at the forthcoming special legislative session if the Governor so decided. It suggests that the first step is for the legislature to "promote a constitutional amendment permitting the city to be subdivided into representative districts." The legislature has power to adopt new state senatorial and congressional districts—a power which it has failed to use for many years.

Michigan Social Security System Explained

"The purpose of this study is to present a simplified statement of the important features of social security as it exists in Michigan, with some attention to developments and trends," says Claude R. Tharp, author of *Social Security and Related Services in Michigan, Their Administration and Financing*, in his preface. The publication of 180 pages has been issued by the **Bureau of Government of the University of Michigan**, of which Robert S. Ford is director.

The study examines "the administration and financing of social security and certain related services in Michigan." It gives a brief description of methods of administering and financing the services as carried on in that state by federal, state and local agencies. The subject is divided into several categories: public assistance; services for children and handicapped persons; health and medical services; and social insurances, including workmen's compensation, unemployment compensation, provided by state and federal laws, old age and survivors' insurance under the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act.

Report on Cleveland Area Released

The report on improvement financing in the Cleveland metropolitan area, made by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, has been released to the public as a basis for discussion and planning. The study was made for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, which was retained by the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research** and the **Cleveland Metropolitan Development Council**.

According to *Greater Cleveland*, organ of the **Cleveland Citizens League**, John E. Bebout, director, the report indicates what the authors consider to be an economically feasible program, presenting the relative advantages and disadvantages of pay-as-you-go and borrowing. It finds that the county is in a position to finance all its proposed construction program and that the city, on the basis of its present tax structure, could safely finance a program involving up to \$30,000,000 of tax-supported construction in the next six years. The Cleveland School Board's program can be continued on the basis of its present pay-as-you-go plan and the large suburbs are in a position to "carry out needed public improvements without undue burden on the taxpayer." The authors conclude, however, that a majority of the units within Cuyahoga County are too small to be effective in "either the planning or execution of public works necessary to care for the spreading population of the Cleveland area."

Mr. Burns Weston, executive director of the Development Council, in commenting on the release of the report stated: "The report does not provide a specific program to be followed, but it does reveal the extent of ability of the major political subdivisions to finance their capital improvement needs. . . . One of the significant values of

the study has been the creation of an informal coordinating committee of representatives of the city, county, Board of Education and suburban municipalities for the purpose of working out a coordinated course of action. This study would not have been possible without the splendid cooperation of the public officials of the local units of government in this area."

Detroit Civic Award

Eighty-five awards totaling \$2,500 will be given to the city and school employees of Detroit who submit what are judged to be the most meritorious suggestions for increasing the efficiency and economy of the city's municipal service, says a recent announcement by Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr. The grand award is \$500. Others range from \$350 down to 70 awards of \$10 each.

Mayor Jeffries recently appointed a committee of city administrative officers to review "what the city does, why it is done, how it might be done," to secure a critical re-evaluation and appraisal of every municipal function and service. The gift of \$2,500 by an anonymous donor was received as a means of encouraging municipal employees to participate in the program. Closing date for entries was March 15. Preliminary judgment will be made by members of the Mayor's Administrative Study Committee and the business manager of the Board of Education, who will select the 150 most meritorious suggestions. Final judgment will be made by the Board of Trustees of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**.

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Forms of Government

In order to provide Texas officials and citizens with a "comparative discussion of the major forms of city government in use in this country,"

says Stuart A. McCorkle, director, the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas** has issued *Forms of City Government* (34 pages, 50 cents). Covered are the weak and strong mayor forms of government, the commission plan and the council-manager plan, with emphasis on those forms as used in Texas cities.

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City Survey

Mayor-elect de Lesseps Morrison of **New Orleans** has requested the **Bureau of Governmental Research** of that city to undertake three surveys of the city government as an aid to the new administration in eliminating waste and inefficiency, announces Lennox L. Moak, executive director of the bureau. The surveys will cover probable budget requirements for May 15-December 31 this year, needed administrative reorganization of the government, and proposed legislation to make such reorganization effective. The surveys will be conducted simultaneously, says Mr. Moak, who plans to use previous studies by the bureau so far as possible.

* * *

County Home Rule

In Missouri, where the new constitution gives cities and counties considerable latitude in adopting new charters, the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** is publishing a series of articles in its bulletin, *Mind Your Business*, on county home rule charters elsewhere. Victor D. Brannon, assistant director of the institute, is acting as director while Charlton F. Chute is on leave.

* * *

Tax Survey

The Maryland Commission on the Distribution of Tax Revenues, appointed by Governor O'Connor, has arranged to have the **Institute of Public Administration** aid the commission in the planning and coordination of its studies

and the specification of data to be furnished by state and local officials, according to Judge Joseph Sherbow, commission chairman. Luther Gulick is director of the institute.

* * *

Three-Platoon Fire Department

According to a report from the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research**, where Glenn N. Hoffman is secretary, firemen of that city are circulating petitions asking the City Council to submit to Des Moines voters a proposed ordinance for the establishment of a three-platoon fire department. If the plan were to be adopted, says the bureau, it would mean an increase of at least 90 firemen and would cost the city about \$210,000 more than the present cost of operating the department. "Out of a total of 54 cities between 100,000 and 250,000 reporting in 1945," says the bureau, "not one reported using the three-platoon system."

* * *

Tennessee Labor Legislation

The Development of Labor Legislation in Tennessee (University of Tennessee Record, November 1945, 79 pages) is a study made by Virginia Holmes Brown, research associate of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee**. Preface to the publication, a bureau study, was prepared by Lee S. Greene, the bureau's director. Covered are the developments of labor legislation in Tennessee as taken from pertinent statutes, as well as a survey of administrative development and individual enforcement through court procedure. A bibliography and a table of cases are included as appendices.

* * *

Change of Name

The **Ohio Institute**, R. E. Miles, executive director, has been reorganized and will be known henceforth as the **Ohio Welfare Council**. According

to a recent announcement the organization "is designed to function as a statewide medium through which individual citizens and organizations may be informed on social welfare, health and governmental problems and through which they may channel their efforts to meet those problems and improve the services of the public and private agencies concerned." Major fields of interest are: (1) social welfare services, public and private, including poor relief, aid to dependent children, care for aged and other forms of public assistance; (2) care, treatment and training of mentally ill, mentally deficient and epileptics; (3) prevention and treatment of delinquency, juvenile and adult, including institutional and non-institutional facilities; (4) public health facilities and services; (5) recreation and leisure time programs.

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New Missouri Bureau?

At its annual meeting the Missouri Municipal League unanimously adopted a resolution requesting the University of Missouri to consider the establishment of a Bureau of Municipal Research. University officials have taken the matter under advisement.

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New Edition of 'Letters'

Dr. Lent D. Upson, director of the National Training School for Public Service, has recently reissued, in printed form, his *Letters on Public Administration—from a Dean to His Graduates* (91 pages). The "Letters," issued several years ago as a series of pamphlets, include Being an Executive, Tools of Administration, Heuristics, Statistical Theory in One Easy Lesson. Suggested as possibilities for the future are How to Graft, A Short Glossary of Political Words and Phrases, Citizen Concern with Government.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Women Aid in Good Government

Seek Improvements on Both Federal and Local Levels

THE National League of Women Voters is currently "sponsoring thousands of small discussion groups, which include both league and non-league members, men as well as women," says Mrs. Harold A. Stone, a league director. The league's new "Memo," *A National Government to Meet Today's Needs* (19 pages, 10 cents), drafted particularly for such groups, "is especially designed to refresh knowledge of the fundamental structure of our government and provide background for viewing the whole problem of the need for reorganizing both the executive and legislative branches of our government," says Mrs. Stone.

"A great obstacle to thought about our federal government is the notion that to strengthen the president is to weaken the Congress, or vice-versa," cites the pamphlet. "Under our system of checks and balances, most fortunately, these notions are mistaken."

The Memo suggests that "the people should follow with interest the work of the president as he sets about the task of reordering the executive establishments under the new reorganization authority, and see to it that Congress does not veto reasonable plans which come before it," and that they "should let the Congress know that they expect it to set its own house in order." The Memo includes a discussion outline and a selected bibliography.

The league will hold its national convention in Kansas City from April 30

to May 3. Miss Anna Lord Strauss is president.

The **Boston Women's City Club** has gone on record unanimously in favor of the city's adoption of the council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of the council (known as Plan E in Massachusetts). This action is an innovation, says Mrs. Roland M. Baker, chairman of the club's Public Affairs Committee, who pointed out that, while the committee has taken a stand on various questions, this is the first time the entire club has taken such action. George A. McLaughlin, president of the Cambridge Civic Association, addressed the club on Plan E, describing its advantages and disadvantages. It had originally been the club's intention, said Mrs. Baker, to have two speakers on the subject, but finding an opponent was "like looking for a left-handed monkey wrench." Those who oppose Plan E are chiefly those who will gain personally by continuance of the *status quo*, the *Christian Science Monitor* reports Mrs. Baker as saying, and because of offices which they now hold none would appear publicly against the plan.

The citizenship class of the **Seattle Women's City Club**, just previous to the vote, made an intensive study of the new charter adopted by Seattle voters on March 12. Freeholder George W. Roberge, of the charter commission, reviewed provisions in a talk before the class.

The **Phoenix League of Women Voters**, just previous to the city's recent primary, sponsored a forum discussion participated in by all candidates for the council under the city's council-manager charter. Candidates were introduced by Mrs. Benton Lee, league president. A question and answer period followed the talks.

Since there is no official provision

for a periodic check of voters in Cook County outside of Chicago and a few suburbs, the **Glencoe League of Women Voters**, at the request of the village manager, made a check of Glencoe polling lists. In addition to making the check, each canvasser made a note of all voters who should register or make a transfer of address and urged them to do so.

Louis N. Robinson, former chairman of the State Board of Parole and member of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, discussed the report of Governor Martin's Committee on the Penal and Correctional System of Pennsylvania at a luncheon of the **Philadelphia Civic Club**.

Minneapolis Groups Conduct Fund Drive; Adopt 'Goals'

As the result of an intensive drive, five thousand Minneapolis business and professional firms subscribed \$319,310 in the city's ninth annual civic fund campaign. According to *Minneapolis Civic Activities*, this is \$50,000 more than was collected last year. At the same time 1,077 new members have been signed up.

The drive was conducted by the **Minneapolis Civic Council**, of which Allen H. Seed, Jr., is executive vice president and secretary, on behalf of its seven operating agencies: **Minneapolis Research Bureau**, **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association**, **Greater Minneapolis Safety Council**, **Minneapolis Civic and Commerce Association**, **Hennepin County Good Roads Association**, **Associated Industries of Minneapolis** and **Better Business Bureau of Minneapolis**.

Eight hundred volunteers solicited some ten thousand business and professional firms. A speakers bureau supplied associations and clubs with speakers who gave five-minute talks on the campaign. General campaign manager for the drive was Charles W. Perrine.

The Board of Directors of the Civic Council has adopted a comprehensive community program for a greater Minneapolis. The program is set forth in a report, "Goals for Minneapolis," prepared by a special planning committee headed by Professor William Anderson of the Political Science Department at the University of Minnesota. The report recommends "twelve activities toward which the entire community should bend its energies," as follows:

1. *More industry*—Payrolls are the lifeblood of a prosperous community.

2. *Enlarged transportation*—Continued development of rail, water, highway and air transportation commensurate with a metropolitan area of one million people.

3. *Labor*—A program to maintain harmonious relations between employer and employee based on recognition of mutual rights.

4. *Wholesale markets*—Organized and determined effort to expand Minneapolis' \$1,500,000,000 market to help give outlet to its industry and commerce.

5. *Finance*—Positive program for the long-range solution of the city's tax and debt problem as a constructive aid to its expansion and growth.

6. *Conventions, tourists*—Constant endeavor to make Minneapolis a still greater convention city and the tourist gateway to the ten thousand lakes country.

7. *City government*—Modernization of the city's machinery of government.

8. *Public works*—Long range program, tailored to fit into the future requirements of a greater Minneapolis.

9. *Research*—Expand public and private research facilities as the basis for intelligent, constructive civic action.

10. *Better business practices*—Continuous effort to stamp out advertising and selling practices that undermine public confidence in business.

11. *Education*—Foster and expand cultural and educational institutions.

12. *Public safety*—Continuous year-around campaign to make Minneapolis' streets, homes and factories the safest in the country.

New Civic Group for Knoxville

City and county government "responsive to social and economic needs of the citizens," is the goal of a newly organized **Good Government Group** in Knoxville, Tennessee, according to an announcement in that city's *News-Sentinel*. "It is not the purpose of our organization to keep in office any present officeholder," says an announcement by the group, "nor is its purpose to create a new group of officials. It seeks to elect to office well qualified men and to support those in office who are properly discharging their duties . . . One of the immediate aims of the group is to actively encourage every citizen to take part in elections by casting their ballots." Another activity will be to encourage properly qualified candidates to seek office. The group will actively support men with ability who will produce the right kind of government and it will investigate and obtain expert assistance in the analysis of problems of officials, advising the public of these problems and supporting all actions taken for their solution.

A full-time paid executive secretary, with permanent headquarters, is being contemplated. Thomas McCroskey is president and John Coulter, secretary.

New Citizen Service for Educational Groups

Supported by some 80 organizations, most of them national, the **Program Information Exchange**, in New York, is acting as a cooperative service agency administered by a Board of Direc-

tors composed of leaders in the field of public education.

The organizations concerned report to PIE all their activities, ideas, successful experiences, publications, etc. Each month the organization's staff and editorial committee examine the programs, not only of these organizations but of other educational agencies, selecting the best for publication in one of the ten issues of the *Program Information Bulletin*. He who runs, therefore, will presumably find it necessary to read only the *Bulletin* to keep informed of the passing parade of the work and publications of the groups concerned.

Typical topics in the *Bulletin* include: how to start a discussion, how to get speakers, reports on how organizations have aroused interest in their communities, timely films and records on public affairs, quick descriptions of new and timely publications on subjects of national or world interest, the latest news of important legislation pending in Congress.

PIE also publishes a year-round classified directory of sources of program materials and its Program Consultation Service gives individual assistance with particular problems.

Numbered among the supporting groups are the American Federation of Labor, American Association of University Women, American Library Association, Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Department of Education, Catholic Association for International Peace, Congress for Industrial Organizations, International Labor Organization, National Councils of Catholic Women, Jewish Women and YMCA, National Education Association, National League of Women Voters, and many others. Evans Clark of the Twentieth Century Fund is chairman; Florence B. Widutis is executive director.

Platform for Yonkers

Something new in politics is commented on by the **Yonkers Committee of 100** in its *Bulletin*. "The citizens, not only of Yonkers but of every municipality in the country," says the *Bulletin*, "are so accustomed to pre-election platforms and promises that they simply pass them off with little expectation of fulfillment after election. But for any group of city officials to publicly proclaim a list of objectives and policies after election and taking office is a decided novelty and one worthy of careful consideration." The action was taken at the organization meeting of the Council when Mayor Curtiss E. Frank, on behalf of the Council majority, presented a statement of major plans, objectives and policies which it will endeavor to accomplish.

* * *

Lion and the Lamb

According to an announcement in *The Citizen*, issued by the **Citizens' League of Port Huron** (Michigan), the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the St. Clair County CIO have joined forces in calling a mass meeting to consider action to improve Port Huron schools. Two hundred and fifty local groups—labor unions, lodges, churches, service clubs, etc.—were asked to send delegates to the meeting at the Port Huron High School auditorium. The Citizens' League was represented by two delegates. Miss Margaret Elliott is executive secretary of the league.

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It Was Good Enough for Father

"Everybody is out of step but Woonsocket," laments the **Taxpayers Association** of that Rhode Island city as it points out that Woonsocket is one of sixteen cities over the entire country with two branches in its City Council. "There will always be somebody who will propound reasons why the city

should cling to its outmoded bicameral City Council," says the association, "but it doesn't seem reasonable that 99 out of 100 American cities are out of step and that Woonsocket and a mere handful of other cities are the only ones on the beam."

* * *

Town Meeting

Twenty-five civic groups in Minneapolis, representing labor, women, colleges, churches, business and many other groups, held a "Minneapolis Town Meeting" to discuss "How Should the Minneapolis City Charter Be Reformed?" William Anderson, chairman of the Political Science Department, University of Minnesota, gave background information; Ben Palmer, a lawyer and member of the Minneapolis Library Board, presented the case for the council-manager plan; Claude O. Efnor, business man, the commission plan; Hubert H. Humphrey, mayor of Minneapolis, the strong mayor plan; and Harold H. Seavey, chairman of the Political Committee of the Central Labor Union, evaluated the plans.

* * *

1946 Program

An attractively printed leaflet of fifteen pages is **About the New Jersey Taxpayers Association—1946 Platform and Program**. The leaflet describes the association and its aims, reports on past activities and, as the title implies, announces its forthcoming program and platform.

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Costs of Government

The February issue of *The Tax Digest*, published by the **California Taxpayers' Association**, contains two articles on governmental costs: "City General Government Costs," by Richard Winter, and "State and Local Expenditures—California Third in Spending," by Allen C. Fensel.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** discusses the state budget for 1945-1947 in its *Wisconsin Taxpayer*.

Issues of the *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* carry figures on the population, assessments, budgets and taxes of cities, towns and villages, and revenues and expenditures for education.

Tax Topics, organ of the **Manchester, New Hampshire, Taxpayers Association**, discusses the city's "record high budget estimates," which, it says, means a drastic jump in the 1946 tax rate.

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Debt in Chicago

"Chicago's Debt Situation" was the theme of an address by Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary of the **Chicago Civic Federation**, delivered before the Committee on Public Finance of the **Union League Club of Chicago**. The talk has been published as a four-page leaflet.

* * *

Photographic Recording

The **Washington, D. C., Taxpayers Association** has urged the installation of a photographic method for copying deeds and other instruments in the office of the Recorder of Deeds before the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The association points out in its *Taxpayers Bulletin* that the method is now in use in some 31 states and quotes various authorities, including the U. S. Bureau of Standards, in refuting the single argument brought against such usage—that the records are not permanent. The *Bulletin* lists a series of advantages of the practice, demonstrating savings which can be made.

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Report on Washington

The **Minnesota Taxpayers Association** is issuing a *Washington Report* to its members to keep them informed on what the nation's capital is doing.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.

(This department is successor to the
Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers and Long Beach Choose Managers

*UN and Czech Elections
Death of John Humphreys*

P. R.-council-manager government in Long Beach, New York, appears to be off to a good start. The new Council, elected by P. R. last November, has chosen as the city's first manager Donald C. Wagner, staff member of the Public Administration Service in Chicago and former borough manager of West Reading and of Ephrata, Pennsylvania. The salary fixed is \$7500 a year, the same as that given the out-going mayor for part-time service.

The Council chose as its own president Ralph B. Weiss, New York manufacturer, elected to the Council as an independent candidate on the ticket of the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee endorsed by the Long Beach Citizens Union.

Both these selections were made by the votes of the Republican councilman, Frank Barbieri, the American Labor party member, Louis Fuchs, and Mr. Weiss, but the two other members, Robert J. Leik, Democrat, and Former Mayor Charles Gold, independent Democrat, have since declared their confidence in Mr. Wagner and at least one of them has shown a willingness to cooperate with President Weiss.

Before Mr. Wagner was selected there was an episode which illustrated strikingly the value of minority representation. Mr. Weiss, Mr. Barbieri and Mr. Fuchs, after announcing their intention of appointing the best available candidate with actual managerial

experience, picked one of the applicants who had presented an impressive record and made a good impression. Before the choice was made official, however, the other two councilmen made inquiries in the applicant's home town and found he had misrepresented his career. The majority then continued its search and finally persuaded Mr. Wagner, a man with qualifications they considered superior to those of all candidates who had sought the position, to accept appointment. The city government was allowed to function for part of the month of January under temporary arrangements rather than risk the results of a hurried selection.

Reappointment in Yonkers

Yonkers also appears to have launched a highly promising administration after a few exciting days at the turn of the year when the outgoing Democratic organization council majority sought to nullify as far as possible the verdict at the polls. Having allowed the city to coast for some months with an acting manager after discharging the former competent incumbent, Robert Craig Montgomery, the lame duck majority suddenly appointed a manager at the very end of December and the latter used his few hours of grace to make several term appointments obviously dictated by the organization.

Upon assuming office in January the City Manager League-Republican fusion majority promptly discharged the new manager and re-appointed Mr. Montgomery. They also took steps to try to undo the term appointments. Whether they succeed in this or not, the direction of the city government now appears to be in competent, trustworthy hands and there is a new atmosphere of hope and confidence as the city faces the next two critical years.

P. R. Suggested for United Nations Elections

The United Nations Assembly spent much time over its elections. Second and third ballots were necessary. Moreover, Mr. Bevin directed attention to "the imperative necessity of putting an end to lobbying and taking the vote as an Assembly."

It may be recalled that the election of the Council of the League of Nations also gave rise to intrigues and bargainings. Viscount Cecil accordingly submitted to the league a memorandum recommending the single transferable vote system (Hare system of P. R.). The Norwegian government was so impressed with the value of this method of voting that it made a formal proposal to the league for its adoption. The sixth committee of the league reported unanimously that the single transferable vote could be applied to the election of the council but, in view of other changes being made at that time in the composition of the council, was unwilling to recommend an additional change.

The first election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council suggests the need for a reconsideration of the question. As long as the United Nations use the present system of election (block vote plus two-thirds majority rule), it will be difficult to avoid lobbying and the atmosphere to which lobbying gives rise. Were the Norwegian proposal adopted there would be no need for lobbying; there would be no need for second or third ballots. The voting delegate would write on his voting paper the names of the nations he desired to support, and the order in which the names were written would indicate the voting delegate's order of preference. One ballot would suffice and the result would be truly representative of the wishes of those voting.

At the recent election one delegate voted for four nations only, when six were to be elected. It was ruled that the ballot paper was valid, but the incident illustrates one of the weaknesses of the block vote. A delegate anxious for the election of a particular state could have voted for that one state only. Such "plumping" would have increased the chances of the election of the state so favored. This is an additional argument for a reconsideration of the method of voting used by the United Nations in the election of the Security Council.

In a debate on January 28 in the British House of Commons, Mr. Zilliacus, Labor member for Gateshead, suggested that each national parliament should elect its representatives to serve in the United Nations Assembly and that the election should be held on the proportional system.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS, *Secretary*
British Proportional
Representation Society

P. R. to be Used Again in Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia, which used a party list system of proportional representation for parliamentary elections before it was overrun by Nazi Germany, will hold its elections for a National Constituent Assembly on May 26 on the same principle.

*News Flashes from Czechoslovakia*¹ reports that President Edvard Benes has announced that the elections will be the freest and most democratic ever held in that country. "Voting," said the President, "will be by secret ballot and direct universal suffrage. We shall have proportional representation but the constituencies will be small enough to enable the electors to know for whom they are voting. Six

¹Czechoslovak National Council of America, February 15, 1946.

names on a party list are quite enough." There may be as many as eight parties—four Czech and four Slovakian—participating.

Meanwhile the country is being governed by President Benes and his cabinet and a Provisional National Assembly chosen under an agreement designed to give arbitrary representation to the various political groups roughly proportional to their supposed strength.

On August 20, 1945, President Benes broadcast a constitutional decree, part of which follows:

"On the advice of my ministers and with the assent of the Slovak National Council, I order:

Provisional Government

"Article 1. Until such time as the Constitutional National Assembly shall meet, elected by general, direct and secret ballot based on the principle of proportional representation, the legislative power shall be vested for the whole territory of Czechoslovakia in the Provisional National Assembly. This assembly shall consist of one house of 300 members, with its seat in Prague. Persons who have reached the age of eighteen are entitled to vote for the Provisional National Assembly; persons over 21 can be elected. Further particulars about electors and candidates at the elections will be regulated by government decree signed by the president.

"Article 2. The Provisional National Assembly is competent to: (1) confirm that the present president shall remain in office in accordance with Clause 58 of the constitution till the election of a new president; (2) carry out the tasks of the National Assembly in accordance with the constitution and other statutes. It will not, however, be allowed to change the constitution, except in cases of unavoidable necessity. Decisions on the

constitutional position of Slovakia can only be made if agreed to by a majority of the Slovakian members of the Provisional National Assembly present at the meeting. . .

News Flashes from Czechoslovakia describes the actual make-up of the Provisional National Assembly as follows:

"On October 20 the Czechoslovak Provisional National Assembly was formed. It is composed of 300 members, of which 200 are Czechs and 100 Slovaks.

"The 120 Czech delegates from Bohemia were elected on October 20 in Prague by 2,318 electors, 80 delegates from Moravia were elected at the same time in the city of Brno by 1,319 electors. One hundred Slovak delegates were elected in the city of Banska Bystrica on August 29.

"The electors were chosen by the county national committees.

Seats Apportioned

"By an agreement of the political parties which are represented in the National Front government, the seats in the National Assembly were apportioned as follows: Czech Communist party, 40 members; Czech Social Democrats, 40 members; Czech Socialists (Dr. Benes' party), 40 members; Czech Peoples' (Catholic) party, 40 members; Slovak Democrats, 50 members; Slovak Communists, 50 members.

"In addition several interested Czech groups were given representation: labor unions, ten members; farmers' union, eight members; cooperatives, four members; youth organizations, three members; physical culture organizations, three members; artisans, two members; merchants' organization, two members; outstanding intellectuals, eight members.

"Similarly twenty delegates of interested Slovakian groups were included among the representatives of Slovakia.

"The Provisional National Assembly of Czechoslovakia was formed in almost precisely the same manner as was the first Czechoslovakian Constitutional Assembly in 1918, that is, by an agreement concluded among the political parties represented in the government. In 1918 the German political parties which were then unwilling to cooperate were missing; in 1945 the fascist or semi-fascist parties, guilty of collaboration with the enemy (the Slovak-Hlinka party and Czech Agrarians with their satellites) were excluded.

"The first meeting of the National Assembly was held in Prague on October 28, the Czechoslovakian Independence Day."

John Humphreys, World Leader of P. R.

With the deepest regret and sense of loss we report the death of John H. Humphreys, aged 76, on February 15. Mr. Humphreys was secretary of the British Proportional Representation Society for the last 41 years. More than anyone else he was looked to in all countries as world authority and kindly mentor in the field of P. R.

His book *Proportional Representation*, published in 1911, was for many years the best and most complete source book on the subject. It was due chiefly to his leadership and indefatigable labors that the P. R. Society won support from prominent leaders of all parties and continued its effective work without interruption through good times and bad, chalking up such notable victories as the adoptions of the best form of P. R. for Scottish school boards, for Church of England elections, for the parliament of Malta,

for governing boards and committees in India, for university members of the House of Commons, and for national and local elections throughout southern Ireland. He continued in active charge of the society's office until two weeks before his death.

In his later years Mr. Humphreys did a large amount of research in the practical effects of election methods on the course of nations and did more than anyone else to refute the theory that justice in representation to all groups of opinion is inconsistent with stability and effectiveness in the services of government. He corresponded widely with proportionalists in all parts of the world and gave them invaluable help and encouragement.

Mr. Humphreys was an honorary vice-president of the (American) Proportional Representation League, now merged in its activities with the National Municipal League. Many will remember his visit to the first P. R. election in New York City in 1937 and his inspiring address on "Methods of Election and the Making of History" at the National Municipal League convention in Rochester that fall. A few will remember with equal satisfaction his earlier visit at the time of his world tour in 1915-16.

The editor of this department treasures memories of trips to observe and study P. R. elections in Belfast and Dublin, Ireland, and Leyden, Holland, with him in the summer of 1920, a visit to a P. R. debate in the House of Commons under his guidance, and the pleasantest of hikes through the English and Irish countrysides.

We are happy to be able to publish in this issue one of Mr. Humphreys' latest writings, on a subject of world importance to which he gave much time and effort during the last two years.

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Clackamas County to Vote on Manager Charter

*Petitions Place Plan on
May 17th Primary Ballot*

CLACKAMAS will be the first Oregon county to vote on adoption of the manager plan under the state's 1944 constitutional amendment and subsequent enabling legislation. A proposed charter, prepared by a Charter Committee with the aid of the Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon, has been placed on the May 17 primary ballot by petition. If adopted the charter will become effective January 1, 1947.

The proposed charter, differing somewhat from the draft discussed here last month, provides for a county board of five members to be elected this fall. This body will supersede the present county court. The board will appoint a business manager who in turn will appoint the heads of the county departments. The manager may act as head of one or more departments or he may appoint deputies or combine departments.

In a statement to charter committee members, L. A. Henderson, chairman, comments: "Your committee believes that this will all lead toward better coordination and efficiency in the government of the county . . . What with unemployment and old age and welfare taking more of our taxes and with the possibility that in the future the government may take over the Public Gas and Electric Company, thereby cancelling about 20 per cent of our tax money, it behooves ourselves to get our government in shape so that we

will get the best possible value for our tax money."

Minnesota County Plans Community Budget

In Blue Earth County, Minnesota, the Committee on Intergovernmental Affairs is developing a community budget which will indicate the amount of money being spent by federal, state and local agencies on specific functions of government, thus helping officials and citizens to analyze the effectiveness with which their total tax dollar is being utilized.

The community budget project is an outgrowth of the work of the Blue Earth County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, which has been studying means of blending federal, state and local government activities for the past two years.¹

The County Council discovered that there were 298 governmental organizations operating in the county of which 155 were units of local government, 105 were state agencies, and the remainder were federal agencies engaged in activities in the county. The study showed that many government agencies not only operate independently of one another but in some cases work at cross purposes. This has led to bewilderment for the average citizen and lack of interest in local issues and elections.

The purpose of the community budget is not to control or supervise the preparation of individual budgets, but to assist the various agencies by providing a usable report of all governmental activities in the community.

California Studies County Government

Another statewide study of county government has been added to the growing list of literature of local rural

¹See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 90.

government to bring an additional ray of light into this "dark continent of American politics." The Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California recently published *County Government Organization in California*,¹ written by Robert W. Binkley, Jr., which describes the basic constitutional and statutory provisions governing California counties.

All California counties are organized either under state law or under provisions of their own charters adopted under Article II of the constitution. The charter counties, as well as the others, operate under a number of restrictions, but because of their relative freedom of action, the former may be identified as "home rule" counties. For example, with certain exceptions, they set county salaries, while in the remainder of the counties such salaries are established by the state legislature. In addition to the city and county of San Francisco, there are nine home rule counties and 48 counties operating under state statutes.

The report consists primarily of tabular studies of legal provisions governing the two types of counties and, in addition, special districts in California. Brief descriptions are given of the boards of supervisors and other county officers. Table I indicates the method of selection, qualifications and length of terms of officers in the non-charter counties. Table II contains similar information regarding boards and commissions in non-charter counties, and Table III indicates the number of constables and justices of peace in each. Tables IV, V and VI furnish similar information, respectively, on the home rule counties. Table VII relates to judicial officers and Table VIII to officers of the special districts.

Census Bureau Reports 1943 County Finances

As a continuation of the series begun several years ago, the U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued *County Finances, 1943 Compendium*. The earlier reports, covering primarily selected large urban counties, were issued for the years 1940 and 1941. These were followed by a 500-page report for 1942 covering almost all counties.¹ The latter report constituted part of the 1942 decennial *Census of Governments*, and it will continue to serve as the basis for subsequent reports of a more limited nature.

The report for 1943 is approximately 100 pages in length, and it presents data on only a third of the nation's county governments. They include large and small, urban and rural counties, which have been selected as representative for purposes of national estimates. Summaries and estimates are made for each state and for the nation.

General revenues of each county are shown classified on the basis of (1) property taxes, (2) other taxes, (3) aids from other governments, and (4) charges and earnings. General expenditures are shown classified as (1) operations, (2) aids to other governments, (3) capital outlay, (4) interest, and (5) debt retirement. For a limited number of counties (332) expenditures for various functions are shown. For 224 counties capital outlay is classified according to (1) new construction, (2) land and old structures, and (3) major equipment. Such outlay is classified also by function including (1) schools, (2) highways, (3) hospitals, (4) welfare, (5) general control, and (6) other. For 281 counties are shown long- and short-term debt outstanding, issued and retired.

¹University of California, Berkeley, August 1945, 69 pages.

¹See the REVIEW, October 1944, page 491.

After estimating 1943 national averages, the authors of the report concluded that each American living under county government paid theoretically \$14.36 for county taxes, or a total of \$1,610,000,000. Total expenditures of counties amounted to \$1,568,000,000, which was \$55,000,000 less than comparable expenditures in 1942. Total county debt of \$1,802,000,000 was only slightly in excess of total revenue. Nearly half the county expenditures were devoted to highway and public welfare purposes.

Plans for the 1944 compendium include detailed analyses of county-owned utilities and other enterprises, breakdown of various object expenditures into payroll and other payments, and further detail on various features of county debts.

The information for this report was collected by field agents visiting various state offices and by direct mail collection from county officers.

Ellis County, Kansas, Surveyed

In a report issued by the Fort Hays Kansas State College, the population, housing facilities, agricultural conditions, and retail, wholesale and service establishments of Ellis County, Kansas, are analyzed in order to obtain a complete social picture of the community. The project was undertaken to serve as a pilot study for other communities which might desire to conduct similar surveys as a basis for their postwar community planning activities.

Jefferson County and Louisville Plan Further Consolidation

City-county functional consolidation for Jefferson County and Louisville, Kentucky, may take another step forward through the consolidation of the welfare agencies of the two jurisdictions. The fields of public health and

planning already have been consolidated in this manner. The new proposal, involving the creation of a seven-member board appointed jointly by the mayor and the county judge, is under consideration by the Government Committee of the Mayor's Legislative Committee.

Cook County Considers Health Board

The Board of Commissioners of Cook County, Illinois, is considering a proposed resolution to establish a Board of Health to replace the present Public Health Unit in the Bureau of Public Welfare. Under the proposed plan, authorized by a 1943 statute, the members of the Board of Commissioners would serve also as the Board of Health. It would not have jurisdiction in Chicago or other municipalities already employing full-time health departments.

The proposal is an attempt to meet the problem of inadequate authority and facilities under the present arrangement. It is noted that in those areas of the county not served by a full-time health department there is a higher rate of incidence of undulant fever and tuberculosis, as well as inadequate control of drinking water and contagious disease.

Head of Taxpayer Group Urges County Reforms

The president of the Chenango County, New York, Taxpayers Association, at a municipal conference in the State Department of Audit and Control, recently urged that various reforms be adopted immediately for his county. He recommended county assessment to replace town assessment, consolidation of towns of low valuation, better co-operation between the county and the towns regarding use of highway machinery and state aid, fewer election

districts, more vigorous tax collection, and greater use of local material for surfacing the county's secondary roads.

New York Towns Resume Meetings

The New York State Association of Towns has resumed its annual meetings which had been suspended because of the war. The 1946 meeting was held February 20-22 in Albany.

Pennsylvania Township Commissioners Discuss Laws

One hundred fifty Pennsylvania township commissioners and their aides recently met in their annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Association of Township Commissioners and discussed, among other subjects, administration of the liquid fuels tax, the municipal employees retirement system, the licensing system for bars and restaurants, and new developments in Pennsylvania local government. Arrangements were made also for the publication of a township commissioners handbook.

Texas County Notes Highway Centralization

Brazos County, Texas, in a recent report to *Better Roads*, has announced that the transition from a precinct basis to a county unit system of highway construction and maintenance has been completed after seven years of gradual transfer.

County Officials' Short Course Reestablished in Texas

In cooperation with the County Judges and Commissioners Association, the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College is renewing its sponsorship of a short course for county officials and employees. The course, which was resumed in March, had been suspended because of wartime travel restrictions.

The course considers various phases of county work, and in many instances county officials appear on the program to provide information regarding their practical experiences.

Michigan County Develops Outdoor Recreation Plans

Over a period of 30 years, Iron County, Michigan, has succeeded in developing a program that has protected its forests and preserved the scenic beauty of its rural areas. The first forest land was acquired by the county in 1918. Subsequently, much similar property was purchased to provide roadside parks and picnic areas. Other property was purchased to preserve historic Indian village sites and burial grounds. Today the county owns 3,000 acres of parks and roadside timber. The areas are under the jurisdiction of the county road commissioners who are designated *ex-officio* as county park trustees.

Federal Aid Highway Plans Progress

In a survey recently completed, the editors of *Better Roads* ascertained that 45 out of the 48 states have completed their designation of the secondary roads which are to be assisted by federal aid grants under the provisions of the Federal Aid Highway Act passed in December 1944. Not all plans, however, have as yet been approved by the U. S. Public Roads Administration.

The 1944 act required that funds were to be expended in states in which the secondary roads were under local control, "on a system of such roads selected by the state highway departments in cooperation with the county supervisors, county commissioners or other appropriate local road officials and the commissioner of public roads."

Three plans of consulting county officials, as required by law, were

noted. In some states the state highway departments made tentative selection of routes and submitted such plans to counties for review, concurrence or suggested changes. In other states the counties were invited to make the original designations which were then sent to the state for review, and in the third group of states the routes were selected jointly at conferences attended by representatives of the states and the counties. Approximately a third of the states used each of the three plans. Disagreements on route selections were minor.

Total mileage of secondary roads under the proposed plans reaches approximately 300,000. About half the roads would be under state jurisdiction and half under local. In a few states the proposed expenditures would be entirely upon county-administered roads. States in which the expenditures would be predominantly upon county roads include Alabama, Arkansas, California, Idaho, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, South Dakota, Tennessee, Washington and Wisconsin.

In a fourth of the states counties will participate to an appreciable degree in designing the projects of highway construction. Fewer counties will actually participate in construction. As required by the law, most construction will be undertaken on a contractual basis.

Funds to match the federal aid for the secondary road programs will be raised in most states by the states rather than by the counties. In an appreciable number, however, the states will match the funds for state-administered highways and counties will be expected to match the federal funds allocated for county road improvement.

The cost and character of the projects will vary widely. In some in-

stances, the cost will be as low as \$5,000 per mile, but at the other extreme costs have been estimated at \$100,000 per mile. Formulas used by the states for distribution of funds among the counties varied in complexity and in the factors considered. Considered in three or more states were population, area, road mileage, valuation, motor vehicle registration, value of farm products and the number of farms in each county.

Another Wisconsin County Acquires Extensive Forests

Marinette County, Wisconsin, now has over one-fourth of its total area included in a forestry project developed and financed jointly by the county and the state.¹ Forest work has included thinning and weeding in natural growth areas and the planting of more than sixteen million trees in denuded areas. The planting has been done by members of the CCC, the WPA and by county employees.

The forests are created under a state law which permits counties to transform tax-deeded lands into county forests. The state pays the counties taxes and aids amounting to approximately 20 cents per acre annually, but it then collects a tax of 50 per cent of the appraised value of the standing trees immediately before cutting.

A secondary purpose of county forests is to provide recreational areas. Marinette County has established paths, camping grounds and special facilities for youth camps.

Similar laws for the establishment of county forests have been enacted by Pennsylvania, New York, Indiana, Illinois and California.

¹The forestry program of Douglas County, Wisconsin, was reported in the REVIEW, December 1945, page 585.

Taxation and Finance

Edited by Wade S. Smith

Budget Troubles Beset New York City Mayor

O'Dwyer Appeals to State for Seven New Local Taxes

FACED with an over-all increase of nearly eighty million dollars in budget appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, as compared with appropriations for 1945-46, Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City in mid-February asked the state legislature to authorize seven new revenues estimated by him to yield an additional \$102,000,000 annually to the city. With the proposed doubling of the city sales tax earlier requested to finance subway rehabilitation,¹ the Mayor's program proposes to make available to the city an additional \$142,000,000 annually. The Mayor asked that the city be allowed to determine which taxes should actually be utilized.

The new revenue program was first presented to legislative leaders at Albany by Robert Moses, Republican, the Mayor's public works coordinator, and it was later disclosed that at the very same time City Comptroller Lazarus Joseph was asking a joint meeting of the Senate and Assembly Ways and Means Committees to revise the Moore Commission's proposed program of state aid to give New York City a larger share.² The Moses-O'Dwyer program, as outlined in a memorandum submitted by the Mayor to State Comptroller Moore, called for new revenue authorizations as follows:

¹See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 92.

²See the REVIEW, March 1946, page 147.

An additional tax of 5 per cent on pari-mutuel play to be levied on race tracks in Queens and Nassau Counties (the latter outside New York City) with all the tax in Queens and one-fourth in Nassau to go to New York City, together with amendment of the present pari-mutuel law to give New York City one-fourth of the existing 4 per cent state tax on associations operating tracks in New York City, estimated to yield \$12,500,000 annually;

Doubling of the rate of the New York City business tax from one-twentieth to one-tenth of one per cent in the case of ordinary businesses and from one-tenth to one-fifth of one per cent in the case of financial institutions, estimated to yield an additional \$12,000,000;

A tax on payrolls to be paid by employers, at the rate of one-half of one per cent, estimated to yield \$30,000,000;

A tax of 5 per cent on all room rentals of \$2 or more per day, levied on hotels, estimated to yield \$7,000,000;

A 5 per cent admissions tax, estimated to yield \$12,500,000;

A 5 per cent tax on telephone, electric, telegraph, steam and gas bills, estimated to yield \$18,000,000;

A tax of 5 per cent on "all luxury items" sold at retail, "such as furs, jewelry, toilet goods, luggage, etc.," to be levied only in the event the present federal tax is reduced to pre-war rates, estimated to yield \$10,000,000.

Previously, the Mayor had asked for an increase of the city sales tax from the present 1 per cent rate to the original 2 per cent rate, the proceeds of the added 1 per cent to be used to finance rehabilitation of the city subway system. This request was renewed in the memorandum, and while the Mayor did not set a figure for the annual yield it is generally estimated at about \$40,000,000.

The Republicans in the legislature received the program with openly expressed delight, seeing it as potentially helpful in the next city and state campaigns. Legislative members of the Mayor's own party were resentful, however, pointing out that with half the state's population, New York City will contribute next year about 60 per cent of the state's \$670,000,000 revenue but will receive back only about \$137,000,000. Governor Dewey's 50 per cent cut in the state income tax was described as at the expense of New York City.

Bills to enact the program were not immediately introduced in the legislature, and it shortly became apparent that the program was in for some hurried revision. The payroll tax and the 5 per cent levy on utility bills (which are already subject to the 1 per cent city sales tax) immediately aroused strong opposition, while other items of the proposal received their share of criticism also. Three weeks after the proposals were first made, it appears that the Mayor would settle for four or five new items—the doubling of the sales tax to 2 per cent but with collections to go into the general fund instead of half for subway rehabilitation, doubling of the business tax, imposition of the 5 per cent tax on hotel room rentals over \$2 per day, the taxes on pari-mutuel receipts, and perhaps the 5 per cent amusement tax.

The rumpus over the request for the new levies focused attention on the subway situation and the five-cent fare, with numerous proposals that the fare be increased to make the subways self-liquidating. Actually, this would meet only a part of the immediate problem—balancing the 1946-47 budget, which must be ready by April 1—since to the present the deficit has been in debt service, which is payable outside the city's 2 per cent tax rate limit.

If the subway debt service were taken out of the tax budget, however, the general fund tax rate—which has been held considerably below the 2 per cent limit for reasons of political expediency—could be raised to the full legal maximum without raising total city taxes. Further, the transit system on a self-sustaining basis would no longer pose any special problem as to capital needs, since its rehabilitation could be financed by borrowing outside the city debt limit. The Mayor has stated, however, that he wants a referendum before the fare is raised, and that this could not be done in time for this year's budget.

There seems little doubt that some part of the Moses-O'Dwyer program will be enacted by the legislature, with the Democratic minority reluctantly going along because it has no alternative now. Comptroller Joseph's efforts to secure a greater amount of state aid were of course nullified by the submission of the tax proposals, and the legislature enacted the Moore Commission recommendations in the state budget so that New York City can expect no more than under the Moore formula for the next year at least.

State Debt Drops to Fifteen-Year Low

Gross debt of the states in 1945 was at the lowest point since 1930, according to the latest Census Bureau compilation of state debt.¹ The downward trend began in 1940, but the 11.5 per cent reduction shown from 1944 to 1945 was the largest for the war period. War-expanded revenues and the cessation of borrowing because of wartime restrictions on new construction were

¹*State Debt in 1945.* Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C., November 1945. 16 pages.

of course instrumental in the decline.

The state's gross debt had reached its peak in 1940 at \$3,642,000,000, a figure half again as large as that in 1930. From 1940 the debt was reduced to \$2,792,000,000 in 1944 and to \$2,471,000,000 in 1945. Gross long-term debt less sinking funds declined from \$2,627,000,000 in 1940 to \$2,100,000,000 in 1944 and \$1,839,000,000 in 1945. Gross debt in 1945 was thus 32.2 per cent below that of 1940, while gross debt less sinking funds was down 30 per cent for the same period.

In 1945 one state—Nevada—had no gross debt as classified by the Census Bureau. The largest gross debt was shown by New York, with \$571,993,000, while California with \$172,929,000 stood second, Louisiana with \$164,359,000 third, and Arkansas with \$139,494,000 fourth. Illinois and North Carolina also showed gross debts of over \$100,000,000.

The bureau found that seven-eighths of the gross debt (which is now practically all long-term debt, the 1945 figure including only \$25,000 short-term debt) was backed by the full faith and credit of the states. The remainder represented debt for the payment of which only specific revenues were pledged. However, over one-fourth of the general obligation debt also had the backing of specific pledged revenue.

An important corollary of the reduction in gross debt is, of course, the attendant reduction in interest charges. In 1940 the states paid \$131,516,000 in interest, but this was reduced to \$93,901,000 in 1945, a drop of 28.6 per cent.

MFOA to Meet in June

The Municipal Finance Officers Association has announced that it will hold its 1946 annual convention June

10-13 at Richmond, Virginia. While the program has not been announced in detail, it is stated to tentatively include discussions of salary increases, new municipal revenues, and the financing of public improvements.

Patman Housing Bill Goes to Senate

With housing a major problem in virtually all the nation's large cities and in many of the smaller ones as well, special interest is attached to the fate of the program of Housing Expeditor Wilson Wyatt, former mayor of Louisville, as formulated in the Patman housing bill. This bill, shorn of its original \$600,000,000 appropriation for subsidies and of its authority to impose ceilings on existing housing and amended in many other particulars to weaken the administration housing program, was passed by the House on March 6 and sent to the Senate, where it is expected that an effort will be made to restore some of its original features.

It is interesting to note that on the eve of the House action in ripping out much of the authority the President and Mr. Wyatt had asked for, the Department of Commerce had released revised estimates of new construction in 1946. The department estimated that instead of the \$7,500,000,000 of new construction previously forecast, the impact of the Wyatt housing program made a new construction volume of \$9,000,000,000 this year more likely. The revised estimate was based on four assumptions:

First, that rigid restrictions would be imposed on non-residential construction not already under way;

Second, that it will be possible to produce enough of the various materials to meet unrestricted construction requirements;

Third, that construction costs will

remain at about their present levels;

Fourth, that the average conventional dwelling will be priced at about \$6,000 and will be limited to five rooms, with an average construction cost of about \$4,800. For prefabricated units, the approximate cost is hypothesized at \$4,200, for conversions at \$500, and for temporary re-use units and trailers at \$1,500 each.

Aside from the pressing need for new housing as such, it has become increasingly evident that delays in new construction are potentially troublesome for their possible impact on local finances. The effects of real estate speculation and inflated prices are already evident in assessed valuations of real property. The National Association of Assessing Officers reports that in the last five years farm values have increased 60 per cent, while in the larger cities the general rise in real estate values is already beginning to be reflected. To the extent that these increased values are incorporated into assessment rolls, and are not subsequently supported by taxable improvements, local governments will face a particularly troublesome situation when deflation occurs. This is primarily because a large number of local governments are now in the process of authorizing and issuing bonds for public improvements deferred during the war period, and in many cases these programs are being predicated on wartime increases in taxable values.

California to Match Localities on Public Works Construction

Overriding the veto of Governor Earl Warren, the California legislature in February appropriated \$90,000,000 from the state surplus for city and county public works construction. The money will be allocated half to the cities and half to the counties with all the city share and most of the county

share required to be matched dollar for dollar by local resources.

The \$45,000,000 allocated to the cities (it will be divided on the basis of population, nearly nine dollars per capita based on the 1940 census) will be earmarked first for sanitary sewer plants and trunk and outfall sewers. If, however, a State Allocation Board created by the act finds in conjunction with the State Board of Public Health that existing sewage facilities are adequate or that provision for new and needed works has been otherwise provided for, the funds may be expended for construction of major streets and bridges, for schools, storm drains and improvements to existing publicly owned waterworks systems.

The money allocated to the counties must be applied one-third for county roads; the remaining two-thirds may be expended for hospitals and sanitariums, detention homes, schools, sewage facilities, sanitation facilities; roads, highways, tubes, bridges, road and highway facilities, flood control, fire protection and prevention facilities and harbor facilities. Each county may spend \$75,000 of its allocation without matching, but all sums in excess of that amount must be matched dollar for dollar.

In matching the state funds, grants of current revenues received from the state may be used (as, for example, gasoline tax money for street improvements), as may any federal, state or local money lawfully available for the expenditure. Further, a city may allocate money to another jurisdiction, as to the school district, a sanitary district, etc.

The grant for construction follows the state's action in 1944 appropriating \$10,000,000 for the preparation of engineering plans and acquisition of sites. This action required cities and counties to match the state money.

Local Affairs Abroad

Edited by Edward W. Weidner

Local Income Tax Suggested for Britain

***Sweden's Example Cited;
Has Used Tax Since 1864***

THE income tax as a supplement to local rates in England is the center of much debate among local finance experts.¹ The problem in England is essentially the same as that in the United States: increasing local services, especially those of a broad social character, with local tax bases remaining the same.

The Association of Rating and Valuation Officers in its *Report on Reconstruction* (1945) recommends larger central government grants as a solution. Local government services should be classified as either services affecting property or social services affecting the individual. The former, the association's report contends, should be paid for entirely from local rates, while for the latter local units should receive substantial grants from the central government and pay any additional expense from local rates.

As an alternative to larger grants, the local income tax is rejected by the association on two grounds. Many administrative difficulties are envisioned, and it is felt that a local income tax would interfere materially with the usefulness of the national income tax as a source of revenue.

¹For arguments against the adoption of the local income tax, see *Report on Reconstruction*, Association of Rating and Valuation Officers, 1945; the opposite view is presented in "A Local Income Tax," by Lady Simon, *Journal of the Association of Rating and Valuation Officers*, October 1945.

To the views of the association, Lady Simon has made a vigorous reply in which she cites the experience of Sweden: "There is a general agreement that rates—if inevitable—are bad, since they tax a prime necessity of life, a house. If the charges that naturally belong to property should be met in this way, it is more and more coming to be regarded as unfair that social services should also be assessed on a rental basis.

"The solution suggested in the report, that this charge should be met out of national taxation, does not square with the autonomy of which local authorities are so rightly jealous. If all the money for education, public health, housing, etc., came from the central government, local authorities would become mere agents of the central government with no control of policy.

Sweden's Experience

"Since 1864 Sweden, which has a form of local government very similar to ours [England's], has financed its local expenditures by means of a local income tax. Every individual with an income over a certain amount sends in each year a statement of his income; industrial and business undertakings do the same. This forms the basis both of national and of local income taxes. Deductions and allowances are then made and the taxation office informs each local authority of the amount of the taxable income of its area. When the local council has made up its estimates for the coming year it then decides upon the rate of local income tax which will produce the necessary money.

"The rate of income tax differs of course in each area and is expressed as a percentage. A man who owns a house pays on the value of this house as well as on his income both to the state and to the local authority. This part of the local income tax can be

considered as paying for the property charges. It is levied on the owner, but presumably when the house is let, the amount is reflected in the rent.

"The charge for the social services is met by a local income tax levied accordingly to ability to pay, but the amount raised is entirely within the control of the local authority. The state gives grants also in order to even out discrepancies between the wealth of the different areas. A local income tax of course cannot do that; it can only ensure that the money that is raised locally is raised on a fair basis. Some areas have more rich people and more prosperous industries than others, and the only method by which poorer areas can be helped is by grants raised on a national basis.

"One argument against a local income tax is that in wartime national taxation has to increase so heavily that if local authorities raised money on the same basis people might be paying excessively large income taxes. But if we decided in England to raise part of our local funds on property and part on income, a defense regulation introduced on the outbreak of war could increase the proportion to be levied on property for the period of the war, or limit the proportion that could be levied on income.

"It is surely time that we studied a system which avoids taxing a necessity of life and is based on ability to pay, before asserting dogmatically that there is no alternative to our present system."

Rating System Criticisms

A correspondent of the *London Times* has pointed out that the main defect of the rating system has been that local rates have not proved very expansive as a sole source of revenue. Besides this more general criticism, particular aspects of the present practice are defective: tax exemption of

agricultural land and buildings and of industrial and freight transport properties, undervaluation, etc. More uniform assessments and less tax exemption are the answers to these problems.

The larger problem of lack of revenue productiveness can best be met by national grants. For "whatever is done to remedy the defects and weaknesses of the present rating system will not remove the need for very large exchequer grants."

New Electoral Law Proposed for Netherlands

A new electoral law,¹ lowering the voting age from 25 to 23 and abolishing compulsory voting, was submitted to the lower house of Parliament by the Netherlands government in December. The bill contains a provision enabling all Netherlandsers serving in the armed forces or at sea to vote; it also modifies the present electoral law which withholds the franchise from women married to husbands unable to vote.

Special provisions for the forthcoming 1946 elections are included in the bill. It recommends that municipal elections should not be held at the same time as those for Parliament and provincial legislatures, but gives the government power to hold the latter on the same day. Municipal candidates would be nominated on the second Tuesday of next June and the length of municipal council terms would be reduced from four to three years.

Trade Union Disputes Act to Be Repealed

The British Government has now issued its bill for the repeal of the Trade Disputes and Trades Union Act of 1927. The act was passed by the Baldwin government and, in the words

¹See *Netherlands News*, January 1, 1946, page 69.

of the London *Times*, was an "admittedly punitive measure" following the general strike of 1926.

The importance of the repeal of the act for local government lies in two of its provisions. First of all, Britain's civil service unions—all organizations enrolling workers employed directly by the state or by localities—were forbidden to affiliate with either the Trade Union Congress or the Labor party, while local authorities and public utilities were forbidden to make trade union membership a condition of employment.

Secondly, trade unionists wishing to pay political contributions to the Labor party where their union was affiliated with Labor, had to sign a special authorization instead of indicating when they wished not to make this payment.

When the act is repealed the law will go back to where it was in 1926. The immediate effect will be that civil service unions can at once rejoin the TUC and the Labor party. Those unions already affiliated with the party will make larger contributions to Labor's funds, because there is always a considerable section of members who won't bother to refuse to make political payments, just as under the reverse procedure they did not bother to make them.

With Labor in control of a far larger number of local authorities than in 1926, the power to make trade unionism a condition of employment, if used to the limit, will give tremendous impetus to unions enrolling municipal employees. It is, however, an interesting fact that the National Association of Local Government Officers, mainly local government administrative, professional, technical and clerical em-

ployees, has consistently refused to affiliate with either the TUC or the Labor party.¹

Actually, the Labor government would have had to tackle the question of civil service affiliation with the TUC whatever it did about the other clauses of the act, because nationalization is going to bring additional millions of workers within the field of state service. Under existing law, for example, it might be argued that public ownership of the mines would automatically detach the National Union of Mine-workers from the other unions of the TUC.²

Regionalization in Queensland

The Queensland minister for public works has informed the local authorities association that the administration does not intend to implement the suggestion of a committee which called for the amalgamation of all local units into 25 enlarged areas. The administration does plan to regionalize hospital activities and perhaps one or more other special functions.

Municipal Elections in Italy

Beginning March 10 and continuing for four successive Sundays, the communes of Italy have been holding their first free municipal elections in over twenty years. On the first Sunday 427 communes held elections; the other 7,000 voting the following weeks.

¹See the REVIEW, October 1944, page 496.

²Condensed from "Britain to Repeal Trade Disputes Act," by Gordon Schaffer, British Information Services, January 31, 1946.

Books in Review

The Management of Your Government. By Harold D. Smith. Foreword by Eric Johnston. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. vii, 179 pp. \$2.50.

This small volume will no doubt be widely read because the author has become well known throughout the country as the wartime director of the United States Bureau of the Budget. Now that the war is over governmental management and budgeting again assume something of major importance in the public mind. A great many Americans are already wondering what the possibilities are of reducing the vast machinery of the federal government to such proportions that its costs may be met without excessive and burdensome taxes, even as we have come to know taxation during the war period. For this reason, if for no other, they will turn to Mr. Smith's book to see what he thinks of the prospect. And they are likely to be disappointed, since they will find no positive pronouncements on the subject. Instead they will find discussions that point to much larger spheres of influence and enormously greater expenditures for the federal government than in the prewar period. This is indicated by the emphasis on vast public works, full employment, extended social security and general economic reconstruction.

Mr. Smith's book has a striking title and is easy to read. But the various chapters are loosely put together and the continuity is poor, probably because of the fact that the book consists of a series of papers written at different times and for various occasions. It is to be regretted that Mr. Smith did not take the time to rewrite the text and thus make it conform more closely to the general theme. Parts of it are exceedingly sketchy, some-

times repetitious, and complex processes are often oversimplified in an obvious effort to be popular.

While the casual reader may find the contents of the book quite satisfying, the specialist in governmental administration and finance is likely to be disappointed. In the discussion of budgeting, for example, the latter will expect more than the cursory treatment found in chapters 6 and 7. If the budget is, as the author claims (page 82), "at the very core of democratic government," it would seem to require more discussion in a book of this nature than a mere 30 pages, many of which are given to historical matter. Nor is the specialist likely to agree with all of the new-found budgetary "principles" (pages 90-93), which the author admits have not yet been translated into reality. The question may be fairly raised in this connection as to just when a fond hope becomes a principle.

Now, a few words about the contents of the book. The text is divided into four sections—democracy and public administration, the management of the government's business, intergovernmental relations, and retrospect and prospect. The first section deals in broad, general terms with management, planning and bureaucracy in government. The second section, aside from a discursive treatment of the government's wartime job, is concerned with the history and work of the Bureau of the Budget and with the development of the federal budget and budgetary methods. It concludes with the injunction (page 99) that "we must learn to think of the budget not as an incomprehensible book but as a living process of democratic policy formation and policy execution." The third section discusses mainly the role of state and local governments in the

national fiscal policy. It admonishes the states and cities to cooperate with the federal government in developing a national fiscal policy, but avoids all discussion of federalism which is the real snag in any such cooperation. The final section is a miscellany. Perhaps the most interesting part of it is the attempt to explain the purpose of the so-called "nation's budget," a brief statistical summary of the operations of business and government, which was first included in the President's budget message of January 1945.

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Institute of Public Administration

The Kentucky State Budget System. By James W. Martin and Vera Briscoe. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1945. 103 pp.

This is a useful study describing the development of the budget system in Kentucky, which is similar to that in many of the states. The difficulties encountered run true to form with difficulties experienced by most of the states in early attempts to establish an effective budget system.

An outstanding mistake made in Kentucky—and this occurred in many other states—was the attempt to establish an effective budget system before the state had established a good administrative organization. Although the earliest efforts at establishing a budget system in Kentucky were in 1918, the state government was not reorganized into departments under the governor's supervision and management until 1936. Until this was done there could not be an effective budget system.

This study points out a number of weaknesses in the budget system during its development. The revenues of the state were largely restricted by law for specific expenditure and no public official was responsible for

either preparing or administering a budget plan. Rather a commission of three administrators was established. The state's financial structure was disintegrated and the accounting records did not produce adequate financial information necessary as a basis for a budget plan and for budget control.

The changes which were brought about in 1934 and 1936 to establish a more effective budget system were the reorganization of the state government previously mentioned, abandoning, to a large extent, the scheme of blanket authorization to spend money, adopting the executive budget type of system, and the installation of budgetary control procedure.

It appears from the study that the outstanding weakness at the present time is that the Division of the Budget has not been elevated to a position in which it can effectively study the needs of the spending agencies and thereby render more service to the governor in planning expenditures.

EDWARD B. LOGAN,
Budget Secretary
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

New York Advancing. Edited by Rebecca B. Rankin. New York 7, Municipal Reference Library, 1945. xxxv, 393 pp. Photographs, maps, charts. \$1.

This volume is actually a consolidated report of all departments of the city government for the last seven years of the LaGuardia administration. It visualizes the many problems of all agencies of the city's government with descriptive text. Photographs are used profusely.

The introductory chapter, entitled "My final report," is an over-all picture of the city's operation, prepared by Mayor LaGuardia. The presidents of the five boroughs have also contributed, as have the commissioners of city departments.

The final chapter is devoted to statistics and tables of information, with lists of city publications. This, with a table of contents and a subject index, makes the report easily used as a reference tool.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Elections

Elections Calendar for 1946. By Richard C. Spencer and Anna A. Meck. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 4 pp.

Federal Government

Statistical Abstract of the United States 1944-45. Compiled under supervision of Morris H. Hansen. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945. xiii, 1,023 pp. \$1.75.

Land

Land Assembly for Urban Redevelopment. Objectives of a Program, Elements of Finance, Kind and Extent of Public Aid, Scope and Ultimate Cost, Place in a Community Plan. By National Housing Agency. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1945. 39 pp. Ten cents.

Law

Studying Law. Edited by Arthur T. Vanderbilt. Selection from the writings of Albert J. Beveridge, John Maxcy Zane, Munroe Smith, Roscoe Pound, Arthur L. Goodhart, Eugene Wambaugh, John H. Wigmore, Charles B. Stevens. New York City, Washington Square Publishing Corporation, 1945. 753 pp. \$4.75.

Libraries

Library Extension—Problems and Solutions. Papers Presented Before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 21-26, 1944. Edited by Carleton B. Joeckel. Chicago 37,

University of Chicago Press, 1946. 260 pp. \$3.50.

Municipal Government

City Problems of 1945-1946. The Annual Proceedings of the United States Conference of Mayors, New York City, December 10-12, 1945. Edited by Paul V. Betters. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1945. iii, 163 pp.

Victory Conference on Municipal Problems. Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the American Municipal Association, November 15, 16, 17, 1945, Chicago. Chicago, The American Municipal Association, 1945. 110 pp. \$2.

Planning

Rebuilding our Communities. By Walter Gropius. Chicago, Paul Theobald, 1945. 61 pp., Illus.

Report and Recommendations for the Year Ending December 31, 1945. Sacramento, California State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission, 1946. viii, 167 pp.

Public Health

Public Health. By Thomas Parran, etc., Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, February 1946. 37 pp. 35 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Problems Arising from Changes in School District Boundaries. By Neil Ford Garvey. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1946. 118 pp. Paperbound, \$1.50; clothbound, \$2.

Municipal Finance—A Preview 1945-1955. By Carl H. Chatters, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, February 1946, 31 pp. 50 cents.

Where Did the Money Come From? Where Did the Money Go To? What Was the Money Used For? (Know Your Government Series, Bulletin No. 14). Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1946. 68 pp.